THE HINDI SENTENCE STRUCTURE IN THE WORKS OF TULSĪDĀS

BY

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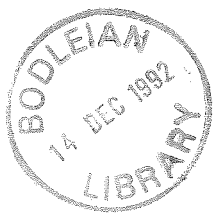

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TO
MR. JIRI SUCHY
AND
MR. JIRI SLITR
AS A TOKEN OF ADMIRATION

CONTENTS

Preface .. vii

The Hindi Sentence Structure .. 1

Literature .. 53

PREFACE

This booklet represents a shortened form of my C.Sc. thesis defended at the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Prague) as long ago as in 1962. Since that time, my interpretation of the Hindi syntactic system underwent some particular changes—a natural and inevitable consequence of development, although the conception remained unchanged in general. For details and new treatment of the Hindi Sentence Structure in synchrony and diachrony, the students may refer to my forthcoming "Hindi Syntagmatics" which will be published by the Deccan College, Poona, this year.

Poona,
January 31, 1967.

VLADIMIR MILTNER.

1.

The sentence,[1] the basic unit of syntactic analysis, is mainly composed of sentence parts.[2] Generally speaking every sentence part can be either simple /simplex/, compound /homogeneous duplex, triplex, etc./ or expanded /heterogeneous duplex, triplex, etc./, or it can be a clause /complex/. These four levels of sentence part complexity can be demonstrated as follows:[3]

/1/ simplex $= x$

/2/ homogeneous duplex /triplex, etc./ $= x_1 + x_2 / + \ldots + x_n /$

/3/ heterogeneous duplex /triplex, etc./ $= x \rightarrow y / \rightarrow \ldots \rightarrow n /$

/4/ complex $= z$

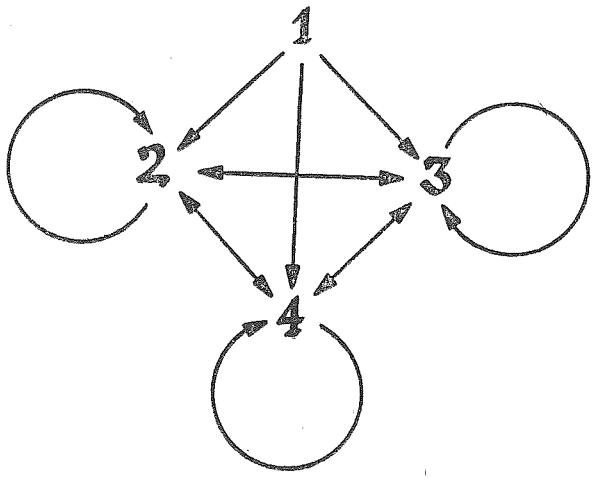
On the /2/ level x_1, x_2 up to x_n can be arbitrarily substituted by a simplex, homogeneous or heterogeneous duplex /triplex, etc./ or a complex, and the same may be substituted for x, y up to n on the /3/ level. It is possible to combine similarly even within the so-called clause /complex/ because its parts undoubtedly abide the same laws as parts of all other sentences which have not lost heir sentence value. This

1. What is the sentence — that is a problem. Most suitable definition, in my opinion, is found in REFORMATSKIJ /28/, p. 272: the sentence is what contains a predicative syntagma. This is fairly precise for the sentences in a strict sense. Utterances without a predicative syntagma can, of course, take on the function of a sentence, i.e. they can become functional sentences.

2. See MAROUZEAU /23/, s.v. *terme* or *člen predloženija*, where English *term* is given in this meaning. But I prefer *part of sentence* /or, *sentence part*/ as merely correlative with *part of speech*.

3. The sign + and the arrow → denote the coordination and determination /or predication/, respectively.

hierarchy of the complexity of sentence parts can be illustrated graphically like this:



The arrows point at the possible direction of the formation of this complexity, and that from all the sentence parts that become constituents of the sentence parts the arrows point at. In each case excepting /4/, because of the shifting of syntactic function, at least two arrows point at the same final part of sentence; there can, however, be only one arrow considered at least as two. From what is said above it is obvious that compound and expanded sentence parts and also the clauses can be of different types as far as complexity is concerned.[4] This points out the advantage of working with simple sentence parts, or with the head constituents of compound and expanded sentence parts, which is practically the same.[5]

Let us appoint that the sentence part function of a sentence part is its grammatic content, and the form which realizes this function is the functor, i.e. one of the parts of speech or a clause. The distribution of the sentence parts is determined not only by their function, but by their functor as well. For example, the object cannot expand the subject denoted by a substantive or a pronoun, but it can expand the subject denoted by a verbal substantive /gerundium/, or a personal pronoun cannot become an accordant attribute, while other pronouns can. If we stipulate that the sentence part function /F/ is the grammatic /or perhaps better, syntactic/ content of the sentence part and that the functor /f/ realizing this function is its form, then in every sentence part /F f/ the dialectic unity of this content and form is expressed.

For Hindī it was suitable to set up five sentence part functions, and that: subject /S/, predicate /P/, object /O/, attribute /A/ and complement /C/.[6]

4. For example, a simplex is the simple attribute *laⁿbī* in *laⁿbī lūma lasata* TK, a homogeneous duplex is the compound subject *sunibo dekhibo* in *sunibo dekhibo bahuta aba TŚ*, a homogeneous triplex is the compound predicate *pālyo hai pālata pālahuge* in *pālyo hai pālata pālahuge prabhu* TVp, a heterogeneous duplex is the subject *kula* expanded by its attribute *ūⁿco* in *ūⁿco kula kehi kāma ko* TVs, a heterogeneous triplex is the complement *bhagati sahita* expanded by the attribute *dasaguna* with its complement *dasaratha te* in *dasaratha te dasaguna bhagati sahita tasu kari kāja* TRp, a homoge-

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neous quadruplex compounded by four heterogeneous duplices is the compound predicate *gyāna ko gaṛhaiyā binu girā ko paṛhaiyā bāra khāla ko kaṛhaiyā baṛhaiyā ura sāla ko* in *gyāna ko gaṛhaiyā binu girā ko paṛhaiyā bāra khāla ko kaṛhaiyā so baṛhaiyā ura sāla ko* TK, a complex is the clause object *jo gati agama mahāmuni gāvahiⁿ* in *jo gati agama mahāmuni gāvahiⁿ tava pura kīṭa pataⁿga pāvahiⁿ* TVp, a homogeneous duplex whose second constituent is the heterogeneous duplex *ṭhāuⁿ bahori milanu jahaⁿ* is the compound object *dina ṭhāuⁿ bahori milanu jahaⁿ* the second constituent of which is expanded by the clause attribute *bahori milanu jahaⁿ* in *siva so kaheu dina ṭhāuⁿ bahori milanu jahaⁿ* TP, and so on.

5. See BLOCH — TRAGER /7/, pp. 76-77.

6. For definitions of S, P, O and A see MAROUZEAU /23/, s.v. *sujet* or *podležaščeje, prédicat* or *skazujemoje, complément direct* or *dopolnenije prjamoje,* and *épithète* or *epitet*; I have not better definitions for the time being. C may be defined preliminarily as such a sentence part function which is neither S, nor P, nor O and nor A. It includes the so-called indirect object, the traditional complement and all sorts of circumstances.

The traditional division of words into parts of speech[7] is entirely unsuitable for my purposes, and therefore I divide the functors into nine basic functor classes with some sub-classes in the following way:[8]

1 — substantives and substantivized[9] parts of speech which were not placed into any of the other classes here,

21 — non-participial verbal tenses and the imperative of intransitive verbs,[10]

22 — non-participial verbal tenses and the imperative of transitive verbs,[11]

31 — imperfective and perfective adjectival participles of intransitive verbs,

321 — imperfective adjectival participles of transitive verbs,

322 — perfective adjectival participles of transitive verbs,[12]

7. Comp. HAVRÁNEK — JEDLICKA /17/, pp. 90-91, and GURU /15/, pp. 68 seq.

8. The first figures denote the functor classes, next figures of the numbers denote the respective sub-classes. The sub-classes of a class have something in common within the framework of their class, but they still differ in some less important features.

9. I.e. put in the syntactic functions the substantives are usually put.

10. The aspect of transitivity is relevant only in eventual relationship to the object, and that in the functor classes 2, 3, 4 and 7. Besides, however, it is very important for the functor class 3 regarding the ergative constructions.

11. In the functor class 2, thus, only the rest of old synthetic verbal system is placed; new analytic verbal forms are placed elsewhere, mostly in the functor class 3. The simple future tense in *-go...* is included in the functor class 2, though it has its origin in an old participle; see VARMĀ /37/, p. 302.

12. The adjectival participles function often as verbal tenses, and that with copula or without it; see LIENHARD /21/, pp. 38-39. Sometimes, of course, parallel distribution occurs, e.g. *kahai*: *kahata*; see LIENHARD /21/, p. 194. The adjectival participles, however, are included in the functor class 3 always without exception.

411 — verbal substantive /gerundium/ of intransitive verbs,

412 — verbal substantive /gerundium/ of transitive verbs,

421 — agent noun of intransitive verbs,

422 — agent noun of transitive verbs,

431 — verbal adjective /gerundivum/ of intransitive verbs,

432 — verbal adjective /gerundivum/ of transitive verbs,[13]

51 — personal pronouns,[14]

52 — demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite and reflexive pronouns,[15] cardinal and collective numerals,

53 — possessive pronouns, ordinal and multiple numerals,

61 — adjectives,[16]

13. But ZMOTOVA /39/ affirms that there is no difference between the verbal substantive /gerundium/ and the verbal adjective /gerundivum/ in Hindī and that these two classes are to be merged together and labelled as the infinitive. This is, I think, quite impossible. From the morphologic viewpoint the verbal substantive has no plural and no feminine forms, while the verbal adjective has them. From the syntactic viewpoint the verbal substantive can realize the functions of subject or object, and it cannot realize the function of attribute, not to speak about other sentence part functions, but the verbal adjective cannot express the functions of subject and object, and it can become an attribute; and, moreover, the verbal substantive can be expanded by an attribute, while the verbal adjective cannot. Consequently, both morphologic and syntactic features of these two classes are different and therefore I prefer to keep them apart.

14. For the 3rd person of personal pronouns some demonstratives are substituted; the respective functor sub-classes are, thus, to be differentiated with care.

15. But not the relative pronoun because it functions as nothing but merely a grammatic word /substitute/; and similarly the correlatives.

16. Inclusive of the *tatsama* participles.

62 — the so-called genitive and the functors adjectivized by the particles *so...*, *sārikho...*, *aiso...*, etc.[17]

63 — pronominal adjectives,

711 — imperfective and perfective adverbial participles of intransitive verbs,[18]

712 — imperfective and perfective adverbial participles of transitive verbs,

721 — absolutives of intransitive verbs,

722 — absolutives of transitive verbs,

81 — adverbs,

82 — adverbialized forms of possessive pronouns, ordinal and multiple numerals, adjectives, the so-called genitive and pronominal adjectives,

9 — clauses.[19]

The distribution of sentence parts is basically determined by their two main distinctive features, that is their function and functor. For an entirely exact delimitation of the sentence parts distribution in syntagmas and in sentences there are, however, some further very important distinctive features.

17. See PORÍZKA /27/. But the so-called genitive of the 3rd person of personal pronouns and also the so-called genitive of other pronouns, being, as a fact, a substitution only, must be placed into the functor class 53 as possessives. If any of the particles in question is joint with an adjective or adjectival participle etc., it naturally cannot adjectivize it — its task is only semantic here; and therefore the original functor class of the given sentence part must be considered, e.g. the perfective adjectival participle *ṭhagi* semantically modified by the particle *sī* in *avaloki haun soca bimocana ko ṭhagi sī rahī* TK.

18. See PORÍZKA /26/.

19. I.e. the sentences which have lost their sentence value and have taken on the function of a sentence part within another sentence. This classification of the functors, and, of course, also of the sentence part functions, is only preliminary; there is still the possibility of furthermore detailed classification, e.g. the forms of the nominative and the forms of other cases, etc.

First of all, it is necessary to consider if the analyzed sentence part is the head /^{h}F f/ or the dependent /^{d}F f/ component of the given syntagma.[20]

For the head sentence parts whose sentence part function is expressed by a functor of the 62 class /^{h}F 62/ it is necessary to take their original adjectivized functor, e.g. 62/1/, 62/31/, 62/321/, into consideration. This differentiation is not necessary for the S sentence part function in predicative relationship, i.e. S 62 : P f, because all kinds of S 62 may be expanded by P f, and for the O sentence part function with the functor 62^{dir} in an ergative construction because it has the same distribution as S f. The eventual 62/62/ can be considered a simple 62.

For the functor 82, which realizes a head sentence part function /^{h}F 82/, the original adverbized functor, e.g. 82/53/, 82/61/, 82/62/1//, is important because all the adverbized functors do not have the same distribution.

In the ergative construction, i.e. where the sentence part function P is expressed by the functor 322 or another functor connected with a copulative the functor of which is 322, I differentiate for the sentence part function O, realized by the functors 1, 3, 41-2, 5 or 6, the dichotomy of the accusative in the form of the direct /O f^{dir}/ or oblique /O f^{obl}/ case. Its relationship to P 322... depends on this moment.

For the accordant dependent sentence parts expressed by the functors of the classes 3, 42-3, 52-3, or 6 it must be differentiated, if their functor is simple and therefore incongruent

20. It must be noted here that there are some complications in connection with the ergative constructions because from the formal viewpoint S is never head of P here, but just reversely, and the dependence of P and O upon one another is determined by the direct or oblique form of O.

/^{d}F f^{i}/, or if it is intensified by the pleonastic suffix *-o...* /< OIA *-ka-...*/ and thus congruent /^{d}F f^{c}/.[21] This differentiation is also relevant for the copula and for copulative verbs /.c/. Because of the fact that some combinations here have the same distribution, I arrive at two groups:

/1/ F f^{i} || F f^{i}.c^{i} || ...,

/2/ F f^{c} || F f^{c}.c^{i} || F f^{i}.c^{c} || Ff^{c}.c^{c} ....

To differentiate the aspect of congruence is quite needless for the accordant dependent sentence parts functors of these classes the head sentence part of which has its function expressed by the functors 7, 8 or 9.

As to the congruence between the constituents of heterogeneous syntagmas, it must be noted here that it is of various kinds, namely in gender /g/, in number /n/, in case /c/ or in person /p/, and, moreover, also of various degrees owing to the combinations of these aspects. But case and person exclude one another and they are subordinate to number. Thus, there are only seven possible congruences which may be classified into three degrees:

congruence						
g	n	gn	nc	np	gnc	gnp

To distinguish these kinds and degrees of congruence may be of great importance in more detailed studies.[22]

21. The accordant dependent sentence parts are of two kinds, namely incongruent and congruent, e.g. the attributes *kaṭhora* /fem. *kaṭhora*/ and *sāⁿco* /fem. *sāⁿcī*/ in *toryo kaṭhora siva cāpu* TG and *prabhu sāⁿco hitū* TVp, respectively. Besides, there are also the associate dependent sentence parts, e.g. the attribute *tinhī soⁿ* in *tinhī soⁿ bhāu nīko* TK.

22. This may be demonstrated on the sentence *us ke āge sab rūpavatī striyāⁿ nirādar haiⁿ*, quoted in GURU /15/, p. 85. The sentence part ^{d}A 61^{c} */rūpavatī/* agrees with the sentence part ^{h}S 1 */striyāⁿ/*

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As far as only the syntactic relationship within syntagmas are concerned, it is unnecessary to differentiate associate dependent sentence parts from incongruent accordant dependent sentence parts, as their distribution is completely identic. Their distribution, however, is distinctly different in exosyntagmatic relationships, and therefore I still denote the associate dependent sentence part functors of the classes 3, 42-3, 52-3 and 6 by the index ^{a}. The functors of the other classes are unambiguous in this connection and need not be marked like this.

When we study the sentence parts on their own and not in their mutual relationships, it is sufficient to take into account only their sentence part function and the functor expressing it. The other distinctive features gain special importance only during the study of syntactic relationships.

The sentence part functions may be expressed by various functors:[23]

S 1 — *rāma in haⁿsata rāma bhāina sameta* TG, *dādura* in *dādura mudita* TG, *kausalyādi* in *kausalyādi tahāⁿ cali āiⁿ* TRm,[24]

S 31 — *bhāvato* in *saba ko bhāvato bhayo* TK, *pachitāyo* in *taba hvaihai pachitāyo* TG,[25]

Continued from previous page

in gender, and the sentence part ^{d}P 61^{i}.21 */nirādar haiⁿ/* agrees with it in number; consequently the endosyntagmatic relationship Σ2 occurs in both the syntagmas ^{d}A 61^{c} : ^{h}S 1 and ^{h}S 1 : ^{d}P 61^{i}.21. But the exosyntagmatic relationship between A 61^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{i}.21 is Σ1′, not Σ2′.

23. The aspect of transitivity may be neglected here; it is relevant in the relationship ^{h}F f : ^{d}O f only.

24. The function of complement expressed by an adverbial participle can have a subject sui generis, e.g. *mati* in *binu asi mati āye mīlahiⁿ na rāma* TVp, which is moreover expanded by the attribute *asi*. I consider such cases a kind of syntactic shift.

25. The function of subject realized by an adjective participle is frequent mostly in elliptic sentences, e.g. *sudharaigī bigariau* TVp with *bāta* elided, or *būṛiau tarati* TK with *nāu* elided.

S 32 — *kahyo* in *kahyo tihāroi kībo* TŚ, *baĩ* in *luniyata baĩ* TVp,[26]

S 41 — *hāribo jītibo* in *prabhu ke hātha hāribo jītibo* TVp, *jāba* in *mora jāba tava nagara na hoī* TRm, *baṛhāvano* in *biṣama balī so*^{n} *bādi baira ko baṛhāvano* TK,

S 42 — *dekhanihāre* in *bhae magana saba dekhanihāre,* TRm, *sunaiyā* in *anāyāsa pāihai*^{n} *janama phala totare bacana sunaiyā* TG, *mā*^{n}*gane* in *paihai*^{n} *mā*^{n}*gane*[27] *jo jehi bhaihai* TG,

S 51 — *mai*^{n} in *mai*^{n} *ati dīna* TVp, *hama* in *hama jhūṭha na kahanī*^{n} TRm, *āpu* in *āpu rahe makha kī*^{n} *rakhavārī* TRm,[28]

S 52 — *yaha* in *yaha rekhā kulisa paṣāna kī* TVp, *kahā* in *kahā bhayo* TŚ, *kachū* in *kachū kahi jaihai* TŚ,[29] *unacāsa* in *subha pa*^{n}*cama unacāsa* TRp,

S 53 — *terī* in *terī kahā calī* TK,

S 61 — *nīko* in *hoi palaka maha*^{n} *nīko* TVp, *choṭe* and *nibala* in *prabhu samīpa choṭe baṛe rahata nibala balavāna* TD, *sā*^{n}*vare se*[30] in *sā*^{n}*vare se sakhi rāvare ko hai*^{n} TK,

26. But *jaga jāye* in *bhaya nidrā maithuna ahāra saba ke samāna jaga jāye* TVp is debatable because the verb *jā-* may be held as both intransitive or transitive.

27. As to this form compare *nāge ke āge*^{n} *hai*^{n} *māgane bāṛhe* TK, *tohi mā*^{n}*gi mā*^{n}*gano na mā*^{n}*gano kahāyo* TVp; comp. also JHĀ /20/, p. 199.

28. The pronoun *rāvaro...* is used mostly as possessive "your"; comp. VARMĀ /36/, p. 86. But such cases as *ki bāvare hau rāvare* TK are to be included here because *rāvare* functions as the personal pronoun in this sentence. The ambiguous character of this form is caused by its origin from old *rājakula-* or *rājakulya-* on the one hand, and on the other by its ending *-aro* which connects it falsely with *tumharo;* comp. TIVĀRĪ /35/, p. 237.

29. The original cardinal numeral *eka* pertains now and then to the indefinite pronouns; it is used in plural, too, e.g. *eka kahai*^{n} TG, *eka calahi*^{n} TJ. Similarly the ordinal numeral *dūsaro* or *biyo* is used, e.g. *dūsaro jaharu* TVp, *nāhina bhajibe joga biyo* TG.

30. The particle *so* indicates a lesser degree of the quality expressed by the adjective; it does not adjectivize the respective functor. Therefore it is to be neglected.

S 62 — *tulasī kī* in *tulasī kī sudharai* TK, *mo se* in *to ko mo se ati ghane* TVp,

S 63 — *aiso* in *bharata kī mātu ko kī aiso cahiyatu hai* TK,

S 71 — *avalokata* in *avalokata mukha deta parama sukha* TG, *ukhāre* in *ukhāre anucita* TŚ,

S 9 — *so jo jehi anurāgaï* in *so ki doṣa guna ganaï jo jehi anurāgaï* TP;

P 1[31] — *hitū* in *ūdho parama hitū* TŚ, *nāka binu* in *te nāka binu bhae* TK, *kapīsu* in *soka samudra nimajjata kāṛhi kapīsu kiyo* TK,

P 2 — *piahi*^{n} and *piāvahi*^{n} in *nara kapāla jala bhari piahi*^{n} *piāvahi*^{n} TP, *kaha*[32] in *kou kaha satya jhūṭha kaha kou* TVp, *āi na jāī*[33] *in rāma kṛpā binu āi na jāī* TRm, *namāmī*[34] in *ripu sūdana pada kamala namāmī* TRm,[35]

P 31 — *na tarati* in *nayaṇani āge te*^{n} *na tarati mohana mūrati* TŚ, *sūkhi ge* in *tṛṣā sūkhi ge a*^{n}*ga* TD,

P 32 — *jagāvatī* in *jānakīsa kī kṛpā jagāvatī sujāna jīva* TVp, *karavāyaïi* in *jagya karavāyaïi* TJ,

31. To differentiate the predicates with copula or a copulative and those without it is irrelevant until further notice.

32. The form *kaha* is no verbal stem, as some indologists think, e.g. ŚRĪVĀSTAV /31/, pp. 131, 135. It is the 3rd pers. sg. of the simple present tense with its ending *-ai, -e* > *-a* contracted metri causa; comp. TAGARE /33/, p. 289, and SI^{N}H/29/, p. 137.

33. The passive voice is formed periphrastically in Hindī and, thus, as a matter of fact, it is no voice to all intents and purposes; comp.. BLOCH /8/, pp. 231 seq.

34. It is a remainder of old conjugation, also e.g. *pasya*^{n}*ti* TRm;, comp. ŚRĪVĀSTAV /31/, pp. 192 seq.

35. A petrified verbal form is found rather frequently, namely the original 3rd pers. sg. of the simple present tense of the verb *jā-* with the meaning "unnecessary, useless, in vain", e.g. *nāri janamu jaga jāya* TP, *bigoie janamu jāya*^{n} TK.

P 42 — *jānanihāra* in *māyā māyā nātha kī ko jaga jānanihāra* TD, *kahaiyā au sunaiyā* in *dūjo ko kahaiyā au sunaiyā* TK,

P 43 — *na deba* in *pāu na deba maga* TRp, *niyarāni* in *niyarāni nagara barāta* TJ,

P 52 — *yahai* in *kāma yahai* TVp, *kauna* in *so hai kauna* TVp,

P 53 — *mero* in *tulasī hai mero* TVp, *cauguno* in *kausika kṛpā cauguno bho* TG,

P 61 — *mauna* in *ihai samujhi suni rahau*^{n} *mauna hī* TVp, *nīkī* in *ati anīti nīkı nahī*^{n} TŚ, *catura* in *nahi*^{n} *catura kahāvaü*^{n} TRm,

P 62 — *prabhu ko* in *tehi prabhu ko hohi* TVp, *kānha ko so* in *taū na hota kānha ko so mana* TŚ, *pa*^{n}*kaja se* in *mṛdu pa*^{n}*kaja se paga hai*^{n} TG,

P 63 — *itano* in *itano jaga jīvana ko phalu hai* TK, *asi* in *asi tumhāri yaha māyā* TVp, *kaiso* in *kaiso tero hiyo hai* TŚ,

P 71 — *khāye* in *khāye huto tulasī kuroga rāṛha rākasani* TH, *dīnhe* in *mukha paṭa dīnhē rahai*^{n} TVs, *lie*^{n} in *sa*^{n}*ga lie*^{n} *bidhubainī badhū* TK,[36]

P 72 — *roki in dekhi tulasī-dāsa prabhu chabi rahe saba pala roki* TG, *ghāṭi* in *hama tumha te kachu ghāṭi* TD,

P 9 — *so jo nāma lāja te*^{n} *nahi*^{n} *rākhyo raghubīra* in *so dhau*^{n} *ko jo nāma lāja te*^{n} *nahi*^{n} *rākhyo raghubīra* TVp;

36. The perfective participle of a transitive verb is used in active meaning here; comp. PHILLOTT /24/, p. 78.

O 1 — *cita kaha*^{n} in *bipra carana cita kaha*^{n} *karaṣai* TVp, *bara* in *na variya bara baurehi*[37] TP, *hāya hāya* in *karai na hāya hāya ko* TH,[38]

O 31 — *bhāvata* in *tuma so*^{n} *mana bhāvata pāyo na kai*^{n} TK, *muehi* in *kali kāla kāyara muehi ghālata ghāya* TVp,

O 32 — *samujhāyo* in *sunahi samujhāyo* TG, *thape* in *tere thape uthapai na mahesa TH,*

O 41 — *khelibo in inha kē lie*^{n} *khelibo chā*^{n}*ḍyo* TŚ, *uṛānā* in *binu pa*^{n}*khanha hama cahahi*^{n} *uṛānā* TRm,

O 42 — *rakhavāre* in *rakhavāre māre* TK,

O 51 — *mohi*^{n} in *kāhe te hari mohi*^{n} *bisāro* TVp, *hau*^{n} in *syānī sakhī haṭhi hau*^{n} *barajī* TK, *tihi* in *na tajau*^{n} *tihi* TG,

O 52 — *so* in *hāhā so bujhaiye mohi* TH, *tinha kaha*^{n} in *sūkhata badana prasa*^{n}*sata tinha kaha*^{n} TVp, *āpu* in *ma*^{n}*dovai roi roikai bigovai āpu* TK,

O 53 — *terī sī* in *kahata hau*^{n} *mai*^{n} *terī sī* TK,

O 61 — *bhaloī* in *bhūpati bhaloī kiyo* TG, *sā*^{n}*varehi* in *sā*^{n}*varehi dekhi* TŚ, *khāṭī mīṭhī* in *kahata na khāṭī mīṭhī* TRm,

O 62 — *āgehu kī* in *āgehu kī beda bhākhai* TVp, *bhāī ko so* in *bhāī ko so karau*^{n} TG,

37. The suffix is joint with the functor realizing the attribute function clearly metri causa; similarly *bheda ki sirisa sumana kana kulisa kaṭhorahi* TJ.

38. An object connected with a less concrete verb can bear the semantic meaning of the whole syntagma, e.g. *gavana kiyo bhūpā* TRm/ comp. *gavanihai*^{n} TG/, *utaru na dījai* TŚ, *bila*^{n}*ba na laihai*^{n} TG. As to the sentence part function of the constituents of such syntagmas a certain fluctuation is noticed, e.g. *pāta pāta ko sī*^{n}*cibo na karu* TD on the one hand, and *anna so joi joi bhojana karaī* TRm on the other; comp. DAVIDOVA /13/, pp. 214 seq., and BYKOVA /10/, pp. 70 seq. Sometimes, of course, the decision is impossible, e.g *sudhā pāna kari* TJ, where *sudhā pāna* may be considered a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

O 63 — *keto* in *maiⁿ kahyo keto kāli hai* TK,

O 9 — *jo gati agama mahāmuni gāvahiⁿ* in *jo gati agama mahāmuni gāvahiⁿ tava pura kīṭa pataⁿga pāvahiⁿ* TVp;

A 1 — *khāni* in *maⁿgala khāni bhavāni* TP, *gāta* in *gore gāta kuⁿvara* TG, *pināka meⁿ* in *pināka meⁿ sarīkatā* TK, *kauṛī lāgi* in *kauṛī lāgi lobha basa* TD,

A 31 — *jāta* in *jāta pathika janu leta bulāī* TG, *āī* in *āī mīcu miṭati* TK,

A 32 — *rāⁿdhyo* in *laⁿka nahi khāta kou bhāta rāⁿdhyo* TK, *dekhe* in *apanē dekhe doṣa sapanehuⁿ rāma na ura dhare* TD,

A 43 — *akulānī* in *jātudhānīⁿ akulānī kahaiⁿ* TK, *hone* in *hota hare hone biravani dala* TG,

A 51 — *mo pai* in *sahi na jāta mo pai parihāsa ete* TVp,

A 52 — *tehi* in *tehi bhrama teⁿ dāruna dukha pāyo* TVp, *eka* in *bipra eka bālaka mṛtaka rākheu rāma duāre* TRp,

A 53 — *tumhārā* in *apajasa nahiⁿ hoi tumhārā* TVp, *āpano* in *balu āpano baṛhāyo hai* TK,

A 61 — *baṛoī* in *rāja samāja baṛoī chalī hai* TK, *jeṭhe* in *jeṭhē sutahi rāja nṛpa dīnhā* TRm, *ṭeṛhī* in *ṭeṛhī bhauⁿhaiⁿ* TG,

A 62 — *baṛe kī* and *choṭe kī* in *baṛe kī baṛāī choṭe kī choṭāī dūri karai* TVp, *sīya sī* and *rāma sārikho* in *sīya sī na tīya na puruṣa rāma sārikho* TK,

A 63 — *itau* in *itau na anata samāu* TVp, *aisī* in *aisī hari karata dāsa para prīti* TVp,

A 71 — *parata* in *nāhina naraka parata mo kahaⁿ ḍara* TVp,

A 81 — *bāhara bhītara* in *bāhara bhītara bhīra na banai bakhānata* TJ,

A 9 — *joi joi kūpa khanaigo para kahaⁿ so* in *joi joi kūpa khanaigo para kahaⁿ so saṭha phiri tehi kūpa parai* TVp, *te..je kahi bhaje saberēⁿ* in *prabhu kahauⁿ te bātaiⁿ je kahi bhaje saberēⁿ* TŚ;

C 1 — *kopa soⁿ* and *sabhāⁿ* in *ati kopa soⁿ ropyo hai pāu sabhāⁿ* TK, *kamalahū teⁿ* in *navala kamalahū teⁿ komala carana haiⁿ* TK, *kīrti* and *karatūti* in *kīrti baṛo karatūti baṛo* TK,[39]

C 31 — *paryo* in *sīdata tulasi-dāsa nisi bāsara paryo bhīma tama kūpa* TVp, *bigare teⁿ* in *bigare teⁿ āpu hī sudhāri lījai bhāya* TK,

C 32 — *mārā* in *dānuja mahābala maraï na mārā* TRm, *binu baī* in *jagatī jāmata binu baī* TG,

C 41 — *dekhana* in *saba nara nārī dekhana dhāe* TG, *risāne* in *ṭūṭa cāpa nahiⁿ jurihi risāne* TRm,

C 42 — *bolanihāre soⁿ* in *bolanihāre soⁿ karai bali binaya kī jhāīⁿ* TVp,

C 43 — *akulānī* in *saba rānī akulānī kahaiⁿ* TK,

C 51 — *mohi* in *suⁿdara mukha mohi dekhāu* TŚ, *merī oraⁿ*[40] in *merī ora herikai* TK, *tumha teⁿ* in *tumha teⁿ kahā na hoya* TH,

C 52 — *kā pahaⁿ* in *sīya bibāha uchāha jāi kahi kā pahaⁿ* TJ, *eka teⁿ eka* in *sevaka eka teⁿ eka aneka bhae* TK,

39. The substantives in the sentence part function of complement have often their final vowel nasalized, e.g. *laⁿkāⁿ* TRp, *kāsīⁿ* TB, *rāma birahaⁿ* TRp, *subhāyaⁿ* TK, *jīhaⁿ* TRm; comp. also the ergative case *brahmāⁿ* TRm, *jānakīⁿ* TK. Sometimes old forms appear, e.g. *sirasi... urasi* TG, *manasā bācā karmanā* TVs, *salachimana* TG.

40. The form of the pronoun as possessive is caused by the functional postposition, therefore the functor belongs to the functor class 51 and not to the functor class 53 as a real possessive pronoun.

C 16 — *laghunha para* in *baṛe saneha laghunha para karahīⁿ* TRm, *nayo* in *para dāra para dhana droha para saⁿsāra bāṛhai nita nayo* TVp, *āchehu te* in *āchehu te āche* TG,[41]

C 62 — *āpa se kahuⁿ* in *āpa se kahuⁿ sauⁿpiye mohi* TVp, *moṭarī sī* in *nija nija marajāda moṭarī sī ḍāra dī* TK, *tā ke* in *khāta tā ke diye phala* TVp,

C 63 — *keto* in *roṣu keto baṛo kiyo hai* TŚ, *etehu para* in *etehu para karihahiⁿ je asaⁿkā* TRm,

C 71 — *jāta* in *jāta jānibe na e dina* TG, *dhoe* in *nāto miṭata na dhoe* TG, *jāge binu* in *jāge binu bhagati na* TVp, *palaṭe* in *deta palaṭe sukha* TVp,[42]

C 72 — *caṛhi* in *caṛhi basaha bidhubhūṣana cale* TP, *haⁿsi kheli* in *cale haⁿsi kheli* TŚ,[43]

C 81 — *hyāⁿ* in *āyo hyāⁿ* TG, *parauⁿ* in *parauⁿ sidhāe* TG, *yoⁿ* in *yoⁿ mana gunati* TŚ,

C 82 — *moreⁿ* in *nātha eka saⁿsaü baṛa moreⁿ* TRm, *suvana ke* in *āraja suvana ke to dayā duvanahu para* TG, *sāncehu* in *sāncehu bibhīṣana āihai* TG,

C 9 — *tehi...saⁿkara jehi seva* in *tehi seiye saⁿkara jehi seva* TVp, *syāma sārasa maga manahuⁿ sasi sravata sudhā siⁿgāru* in *maⁿju aⁿjana sahita jala kana cuvata locana cāru syāma sārasa maga manahuⁿ sasi sravata sudhā siⁿgāru* TŚ.

41. A special case is *choṭehu teⁿ* in *choṭehu teⁿ choha kari āe* TG.

42. The adverbial participle *lie* has been shifted to the function of a postposition with the meaning "with", e.g. *dīpa dīpa ke nṛpa āe upahāra lie* TG, *lie ḍhola cale saⁿga loga* TG.

43. Compare also *jāni būjhi* TVp, *bhari peṭa* TVp, *ulaṭi* TD. An absolutive is often used pleonastically, as it were, e.g. *tā teⁿ kahi na sunāyo* TG, *janaka naⁿdinī janaka pura jaba teⁿ pragaṭīⁿ āi* TRp. The absolutive of the verb *kara-* loses its sentence part value and takes on the function of an adverbization marker, but even here it is often pleonastic, e.g. *dasā sīya kī mukha kari kahata* TG, *kaⁿcana ko mṛṭikā kari mānata* TVs, *thori kai* TK, *nīkeⁿ kai* TK, *kimi kai* TK, *kyoⁿ kari* TG; comp. JHĀ /20/, p. 325.

2.

The sentence parts of a sentence are mutually connected by various syntactic relationships. As the syntactic relationships usually coordination, determination and predication are given.[44] However, is this classification adequate? I think it is not. Let us see two sentences: *namita sīsa socahiⁿ* TG and *kāhi anurāgoⁿ* TVp. In both of them the determinative relationship takes place, but still a certain difference is obvious here at first sight. The relationships of coordination, determination and predication are, I dare to say, only one face of a coin. It is useful to consider not only the grammatic /or, syntactic/ content of syntactic relationships, but their form as well. And their form, then, is association,[45] congruence or government.[46]

I presume that every syntactic relationship, denoted here by the Greek letter Σ, is a manifestation of dialectic unity of the content relationship /coordination, determination and predication/ and the formal relationship /association, congruence and government/:

		content relationships		
		coordination	determination	predication
formal relationships	association	Σ 1	Σ 4	Σ 7
	congruence	Σ 2	Σ 5	Σ 8
	government	Σ 3	Σ 6	Σ 9

Theoretically speaking, it follows that nine syntactic relationships exist whose frequency is very diverse, of course; e.g. in Hindī Σ 2 and Σ 3 do not occur at all.

44. Comp. HAVRÂNEK-JEDLICKA /17/, pp. 281 seq. SMILAUER /32/, pp. 42 seq., and REFORMATSKIJ /28/, pp. 267 seq.

45. The Russian term *primykanije;* comp. REFORMATSKIJ /28/, pp. 269-270.

46. Comp. HAVRÂNEK-JEDLICKA /17/, pp. 282-283, and SMILAUER /32/, pp. 59 seq.

2.1.

If, for the time being, we leave aside the viewpoint of form, i.e. the functor classes and the formal relationships, we arrive at the following table of the mutual occurrence of sentence part functions in content relationships within syntagmas:

	in coordination with	in determination with	in predication with
S	S	O, A, C	P
P	P	O, A, C	/S/
O	O	O, A, C	/P/[47]
A	A	O, A, C	—
C	C	O, A, C	—

Coordination actually is, as to the formal relationships, defective and the content relationship of determination is as a fact complementary with predication /a special kind of determination/. For Hindī, thus, it is appropriate to exclude coordination and to merge determination with predication. And the table of syntactic relationships may be simplified as follows:

		content
		determination or predication
form	association	≷ 1
	congruence	≷ 2
	government	≷ 3

This simplified table of syntactic relationships is undoubtedly more effective. For the sake of completeness, the symbol ≷ 0 for coordination may be introduced. The natural numbers 1, 2 and 3 thus denote the syntactic relationships

47. S and P depend on P and O, respectively, in ergative constructions only.

between the constituents of heterogeneous syntagmas and zero denotes the syntactic relationship between the constituents of homogeneous syntagmas.[48] The letter symbolizing sentence part function designates whether the content relation contained in the syntactic relationship between the constituents of heterogeneous syntagmas is determinative or predicative.

What is said above is, with some slight modifications, valid for the mutual syntactic relationships between all sentence parts in any sentence. I use the term endosyntagmatic for the syntactic relationships between sentence parts within one syntagma; I shall give actual examples immediately.[49] The exosyntagmatic relationships, i.e. the syntactic relationships between sentence parts belonging to different syntagmas, will be dealt with in the next section.

≷ 1

S 1 : P 1 — *nakha duti i*^{n}*du prakāsa* TG,[50] S 1 : P 31^{i}, S 1 : P 321^{i}, S 1 : P 411, S 1 : 421^{i}, S 1 : P 51, S 1 : P 53^{i}, S 1 : P 61^{i} — *dādura mudita* TG, S 1 : P 81 — *sabahī te*^{n} *adhika gīdha rāja kī mīcu* TD, S 1 : P 9 — *kai vai bhāje āihai*^{n} *kai bā*^{n}*dhe parināma* TD,[51] S 1 : A 1 — *janaka nāma*

48. The homogeneous duplices/triplices, etc./ can be considered a whole; it is unnecessary to analyze them, e.g. the subject function in *kahai*^{n} *sura ki*^{n}*nara nāga* TG, the predicate function in *raghubara kīrati sajjanani sītala khalani sutāti* TD, the object function *si*^{n}*dhu sarobara sarita giri kānana bhūmi bibhāga rāma dikhāvata jānakihi* TRp, the attribute function in *subha aru asubha salila saba bahaī* TRm and the complement function in *nabha aru nagara kolāhala hoī* TRm.

49. The majority of the examples of syntactic relationships found in the works of Tulsīdās are quoted through the mentioned symbols only.

50. If we accept that the sequence of the constituents of syntagmas will be always first ^{h}F f and then ^{d}F f, we may omit the indices ^{h} and ^{d} here.

51. An exceptional case is *adhibhautika bādhā bhaī te ki*^{n}*kara tore* TVp; comp. GURU /15/, pp. 552-553. If *bhaī*, however, is considered

Continued on next page

tehiⁿ nagara basai bara nāyaka TJ, S 1 : A 51 — *sahi na jāta mo pai parihāsa ete* TVp, S 1 : A 52ᵃ—*tinhī soⁿ bhāu nīko* TK, S 1 : A 711, S 1 : A 712 — *paⁿtha mile bhṛgunātha hātha pharasa lie* TJ, S 1 : A 81, S 1 : A 9 — *jaise bhāvate haiⁿ bhāⁿti jāti na kahī* TG, S 1 : C 711 — *jāta na jānia dina aru rātī* TRm,[52] S 31 : P 61ⁱ, S 322 : P 31ⁱ, S 322 : P 61ⁱ, S 411 : P 1, S 412 : P 1, S 412 : P 61ⁱ, S 422 : P31ⁱ, S 422 : P. 63ⁱ, S 51 : P 31ⁱ, S 51 : P 52ⁱ — *maiⁿ eka* TVp, S 51 : P 61ⁱ, S 51 : P 62ⁱ, S 51 : P 63ⁱ, S 51 : P 721 — *hama tuma te kachu ghāṭi* TD, S 51 : P 9 — *maiⁿ hū taiⁿ hū tāhi ko sakala jagu jāhi ko* TK, S 51 : A 1, S 51 : A 61ⁱ, S 51 : A 63ⁱ, S 51 : A 9, S 52 : P 1 — *dūsaro jaharu* TVp, S 52 : P 31ⁱ, S 52 : P 321ⁱ, S 52 : P 421ⁱ, S 52 : P 52ⁱ — *e kauna* TG, S 52 : P 61ⁱ, S 52 : P 62ⁱ, S 52 : P 9, S 52 : A 1, S 52 : A 31ⁱ, S 52 : A 422ⁱ, S 52 : A 51, S 52 : A 9, S 61 : P 31ⁱ, S 61 : A 81 — *kehi ati dīna piyāre* TVp, S 62 : P 31ⁱ, S 9 : P 1, S 9 : P 1.21, S 9 : P 22, S 9 : P 31, S 9 : P 321, S 9 : P 322, S 9 : P 61, S 9 : P 61.21, S 9 : P 62, P 1 : A 61ⁱ, P 1 : A 62ⁱ — *eka jībha kara lachimana dūsara seṣa* TB, P 1 : C 1 — *baya kisora* TG, P 1.21 : A 61ⁱ, P 1.21 : A 63ⁱ — *asa kabi ko haï* TJ, P 1.22 : A 62ⁱ — *rāma nāma dui ākhara hiyaⁿ hitu jānu rāma lakhana sama* TB, P 21 : C 1 — *manahiⁿ mana mahesu musukāhīⁿ* TRm, P 21 : C 1.712 — *hoi na bimala bibeka ura gura sana kieⁿ durāva* TRm, P 21 : C 31ᵃ, P 21 : C 411, P 21 : C 412, P 21 : C 421ⁱ, P 21 : C 51, P 21 : C 52ⁱ, P 21 : C 61ⁱ, P 21 : C 61ⁱ.711, P 21 : C 62ⁱ.721, P 21 : C 63ⁱ, P 21 : C 712, P 21 : C 721, P 21 : C 722, P 21 : C 81, P 21 : C 82, P 21 : C 9, P 22 : O 9 — *māniyai jo bhāvai* TVp, P 22 : C 1 — *gāri dehiⁿ giri nārihi* TP, P 22 : C 422ᵃ — *bolanihāre soⁿ karai bali binaya kī jhāīⁿ* TVp, P 22 : C 51 — *rāvare soⁿ jhūṭha kyoⁿ kahauⁿgo* TVp, P 22 : C 52ᵃ — *hauⁿ inhahiⁿ bujhāvauⁿ kaise* TG, P 22 : C 61ⁱ, P 22 : C 61ⁱ.712, P 22 : C 62ⁱ, P 22 : C 62ⁱ.721, P 22 :

Continued from previous page
not a copula but a meaningful verb, and *te kiⁿkara tore* an independent sentence part in extraposition, then there is no irregularity here, of course.

52. Compare P 431 : C 711 — *jāta jānibe na e dina* TG.

C 62ⁱ.722, P 22 : C 63ⁱ, P 22 : C 712, P 22 : C 721, P 22 : C 722, P 22 : C 81, P 22 : C 82, P 22 : C 9, P 31 : C 1 — *rāu avadhahi cale* TJ, P 31 : C 1.712 — *lāja na lāgata dāsa kahāvata* TVp, P 31 : C 412 — *sakhī dekhana calī* TP, P 31 : C 51 — *tere liye janama aneka maiⁿ phirata* TVp, P 31 : C 52ᵃ — *kāhe ko phirata mana* TVp, P 31 : C 61ⁱ — *gaiⁿ samīpa* TRm, P 31 : C 61ⁱ.412 — *drupada sutā ko lagyau dusāsana nagana karana* TVp, P 31 : C 712 — *tero nāma leta hī sukheta hota ūsaro* TVp, P 31 : C 721 — *cale basahaⁿ caṛhi* TRm, P 31 : V 722 — *samācāra suni socu bhayaü mana mainahiⁿ* TP, P 31 : C 81 — *āyo hyāⁿ* TG, P 31 : C 82 — *tehi keⁿ bhae jugala suta bīrā* TRm, P 31 : C 9 — *so pāⁿvara pahuⁿco tahāⁿ jahaⁿ muni mana thāko* TVp, P 31.21 : O 9, P 31.21 : C 1, P 31.21 : C 411, P 31.21 : C 61ⁱ, P 31.21 : C 712, P 31.21 : C 61ⁱ, P 31.21 : C 712, P 31.21 : C 722, P 321 : O 9, P 321 : C 1, P 321 : C 1.712, P 321 : C 1.722, P 321 : C 322ᵃ.722, P 321 : C 411, P 321 : C 51, P 321 : C 61ⁱ, P 321 : C 62ᵃ, P 321 : C 63ⁱ, P 321 : C 712, P 321 : C 721, P 321 : C 722, P 321 : C 81, P 321 : C 82, P 321 : C 9, P 321.21 : O 9, P 321.21 : C 1, P 321.21 : C 61ⁱ, P 322 : O 9, P 322 : C 31ⁱ, P 322 : C 322ᵃ, P 322 : C 412, P 322 : C 51, P 322 : C 52ⁱ, P 322 : C 61ⁱ, P 322 : C 63ⁱ, P 322 : C 711, P 322 : C 712, P 322 : C 722, P 322 : C 81, P 322 : C 82, P 322 : C 9, P 322.21 : C 52ⁱ, P 322.21 : C 721, P 322.21 : C 81, P 322.21 : C 82, P 422 : C 722 — *kāya girā mana ke jana ke aparādha sabai chalu chāṛi chamaiyā* TK, P 432 : C 51 — *mohi kahā kībe aba* TG, P 432 : C 81 — *aba braja bāsa kimi kībo* TŚ, P 432 : C 9 — *tulasī kī bali bāra bārahiⁿ saⁿbhāra kībī jadyapi kṛpā nidhānu sadā sāvadhāna hai* TK, P 52.31 : C 9, P 53 : C 1, P 53.21 : C 9, P 61 : A 62ⁱ — *mo sama maⁿda na koū* TVp, P 61 : C 1 — *gyānī prabhuhi biseṣi piārā* TRm, P 61 : C 412 — *dīna pālibe joga* TD, P 61 : C 51, P 61 : C 52ⁱ, P 61 : C 61ⁱ, P 61 : C 711, P 61 : C 712, P 61 : C 721, P 61 : C 81, P 61 : C 82, P 61 : C 9, P 61.21 : C 1, P 61.21 : C 31ⁱ, P 61.21 : C 321ⁱ, P 61.21 : C 412, P 61.21 : C 51, P 61.21 : C 52ⁱ, P 61.21 : C 711, P 61.21 : C 712, P 61.21 : C 722, P 61.21 : C 81, P 61.21 : C 82, P 61.21 : C 9, P 61.22 : C 1 — *siⁿdhu kahiya kehi bhānti sarisa sara kūpahī* TP, P 61.31 : C 1 — *meruhu teⁿ guru bho*

TK, P 61.31 : C 411, P 61.31 : C 412, P 61.31 : C 722, P 61.31: C 81, P 61.31 : C 82, P 61.31 : C 9, P 61.322 : O 9 — *janaka sadasi jete bhale bhalé bhūmipāla kiye balahīna* TK, P 61.322 : C 52[a] — *tāhu te[n] parama kaṭhina jānyo sasi* TŚ, P 61.322.21 : C 322[i] — *kokhi ke jāe so[n] roṣu keto baṛo kiyo hai* TŚ, P 62/1/: C 81—*mukha anuhariyā kevala ca[n]da samāna* TB, P 62/1/.21: A 9 — *tehi prabhu ko hohi jāhi saba hī kī sarama* TVp, P 63 : C 81 — *calano aba ketika* TK, P 712 : C 81 — *sa[n]ga lie[n] bidhubainī badhū* TK, P 712.21 : C 1 — *mukha paṭa dīnhe rahai[n]* TVs, P 721 : C 52, P 721.31 : C 1, P 81 : C 52, P 81.322 : C 1 — *kiyo pura bāhira jatī* TVp, P 81.322 : C 81, P 81.432.21 : C 81, O 1[dir] : P 1.322[i], O 1[dir] : P 322[i] — *pārabatī[n] tapu kīnha apārā* TRm, O 1[dir] : P 53[i].322[i], O 1[dir] : P 61[i].322[i], O 1 : A 1, O 1: A 51, O 1 : A 52[i], O 1 : A 61[i], O 1 : A 62[i], O 1 : A 712, O 1 : A 722, O 1 : A 9, O 1 : C 711 — *āe dekhi dinakara kula dinakara ko* TG, O 51[dir] : P 1.322[i], O 51[dir] : P 322[i], O 51 : A 1, O 52 : A 62[i], O 62[dir] : P 322[i], A 31 : C 81, A 322 : C 1 — *biṣa rasa bharā kanaka ghaṭu* TRm, A 53: C 1, A 61 : C 1, A 61 : C 412, A 61 : C 52[i], A 61 : C 81, A 61 : C 9, A 62/1/ : A 1, A 62/1 : C 61[i], A 62/1/ : A 9, A 711 : C 1, A 712 : C 51, C 1 : A 1 — *kauṛī lāgi lobha basa* TD, C 1 : A 9 — *jā ko sujasa tihū[n] pura kyo[n] tehi kulahi kālimā lāvau[n]* TG, C 1 : C 1 — *nisi būsara china china prabhu mūratihi nihārati* TG, C 1 : C 722 — *sarīru lasyo taji nīru jyo[n] kāī* TK, C 1.712 : C 1, C 322.722 : C 52, C 411 : C 1, C 412 : C 1, C 412 : C 52[a], C 412 : C 61[a], C 412 : C 81, C 412 : C 82, C 52 : A 52[i], C 52 : A 61[i], C 61 : C 1, C 61 : C 81, C 61.711 : C 1 — *rāma se bāma bhae[n]* TK, C 61.721 : C 1 — *chāha[n] gharīka hvai ṭhāṛhe* TK, C 711 : C 1, C 711 : C 321, C 711 : C 52, C 711 : C 61, C 711 : C 711, C 711 : C 81, C 711 : C 82, C 711 : C 9, C 711.721 : C 1 — *prabhu binu jīvata rahi kyo[n] phiri badana dekhāvo[n]gī* TG, C 712 : O 9 — *calihi barāta sunata saba rānī[n]* TRm, C 712 : C 1, C 712 : C 31, C 712 : C 51, C 712 : C 61, C 712 : C 712, C 712 : C 722, C 712 : C 81, C 712 : C 82, C 721 : C 1 — *bṛ[n]da bṛ[n]da mili calī[n] logāī[n]* TRm, C 721 : C 52, C 721 : C 712, C 721 : C 81, C 721 : C 82, C 722 : O 9—*āju mahā ma[n]gala kosala pura suni nṛpa ke suta cāri bhae* TG, C 722 : C 1, C 722 : C 51, C 722 : C 52, C 722 : C 61, C 722 :

C 712, C 722 : C 81, C 722 : C 82, C 81 : C 1 — *mānī rāma adhika jananī te[n]* TG, C 81 : C 62 — *khara kūkara sūkara sama bṛthā jiyata* TVp, C 81 : C 63, C 81 : C 81, C 82/53/ : C 1 — *guru te[n] pahilehi[n] jagata pati jāge* TRm, C 82/61/ : C 81 — *ati thore[n]* TRm;

≷ 2

S 1 : P 1.21 — *raini ko bhūṣana i[n]du hai* TVs, S 1 : P 1.22 — *aiseu jīva na jīva kahāe* TK, S 1 : P 1.31[c], S 1 : P 1.31[i].21, S 1 : P 1.321[c], S 1 : P 21, S 1 : P 22, S 1 : P 31[c], S 1 : P 31[i].21, S 1 : P 31[c].21, S 1 : P 31[c].31[c], S 1 : P 321[i].31[c], S 1 : P 422[c], S 1 : P 422[i].21, S 1 : P 431[c] — *so to sāhebu abai āvano* TK, S 1 : P 432[c] — *pālibe asidhārā bṛata* TG, S 1 : P 53[c] — *merōī saba dosu* TVp, S 1: P 53[c].21, S 1: P 53[c].31[c], S 1 : P 61[c], S 1 : P 61[i].21, S 1 : P 61[c].21, S 1 : P 61[c].31[i], S 1 : P 61[c].31[c], S 1: P 62[c], S 1 : P 62[i].21, S 1 : P 62[c].21, S 1 : P 62[c].31[i], S 1 : P 62[c].31[c], S 1 : P 63[c], S 1 : P 63[c].21, S 1 : P 63[c].31[c], S 1 : P 721.31[c] — *mana rahyo prema bharikai* TG, S 1 : P 81.21 — *binu jāge[n] na dūri dukha hoī* TRm, S 1 : P 9.31[c]—*rahe nara nārī jyo[n] citere citrasāra hai[n]* TK, S 1 : A 31[c] — *āī mīcu miṭati* TK, S 1 : A 321[c], S 1 : A 322[c], S 1 : A 421[c], S 1 : A 422[c], S 1 : A 431[c], S 1 : A 432[c], S 1 : A 52[c], S 1 : A 53[c], S 1 : A 61[c], S 1 : A 62[c], S 1 : A 63[c], S 31 : P 21, S 31 : P 31[c] — *saba ko bhāvato bhayo* TK, S 31: A 53[c], S 31 : A 62[c], S 322 : P 22 — *luniyata baī* TVp, S 322 : P 432[c] — *kahyo tihāroi kībo* TŚ, S 322 : A 62[c], S 411 : P 21, S 411 : P 31[c], S 411 : P 31[c].21 — *mariboi raho hai* TK, S 411 : P 61[i].21 — *ucita na hoi roibo* TG, S 411 : A 62[c], S 421 : P 21, S 421 : P 31[c], S 421: P 31[c].21, S 421 : P 61[c], S 421 : P 61[c].31[i], S 421 : P 62[c].431[c] — *taba ke se ajahu[n] jānibe raghubara nagara basaiyā* TG, S 421 : A 31[c], S 421 : A 61[c], S 421 : A 62[c], S 422 : P 21, S 422 : P 31[c], S 422 : P 321[c], S 422 : P 321[i].21, S 422 : P 422[c].21, S 422 : P 61[c], S 422 : P 61[i].31[c], S 422 : A 61[c], S 422: A 62[c] — *jitaiyā bibudhesa ke* TK, S 51 : P 1.21, S 51 : P 1.31[c], S 51 : P 21, S 51 : P 22, S 51 : P 31[c], S 51 : P 31[i].21, S 51 : P 31[c].21, S 51 : P 321[c], S 51 : P 52[i].21, S 51 : P 53[c], S 51 : P 61[c], S 51 : P 61[i].21, S 51 : P 61[c].21 — *ki bāvare hau rāvare* TK, S

51 : P 61^{c}.22 — *tuma jani mana mailo karo* TVp,[53] S 51 : P 712.21 — *jāni pahicāni mai^{n} bisāre hau^{n}* TVp, S 51 : A 422^{c} S 52: P 1.21, S 52 : P 21, S 52 : P 22, S 52 : P 31^{c}, S 52 : P 31^{i}.21, S 52 : P 321^{c}, S 52 : P 421^{i}.21, S 52 : P 432^{c}, S 52 : P 432^{c}.21, S 52 : P 52^{i}.21, S 52 : P 61^{i}.21, S 52 : P 61^{i}.22 — *tei tribhuvana ganiyata barabhāgī* TVp, S 52 : P 61^{i}.31^{c}, S 52 : P 62^{c}, S 52 : P 62^{c}.21, S 52 : P 62^{i}.31^{c}, S 52 : A 53^{c}, S 52 : A 61^{c}, S 61 : P 21, S 61 : P 22, S 61 : P 31^{c}, S 61 : P 31^{c}.21, S 61 : P 31^{c}.31^{i}, S 61 : P 421^{c}, S 61 : P 431^{c}, S 61 : P 432^{c}, S 61 : P 432^{i}.21, S 61 : P 61^{c}, S 61 : P 61^{i}.31^{c}, S 61 : P 61^{c}.31^{i}, S. 61 : P 722.31^{c} — *rahe saba pala roki* TG, S 62 : P 21, S 62 : P 22, S 62 : P 31^{c}, S 62 : P 61^{c}, S 62 : P 61^{i}.21, S 62 : P 62^{c}, S 62 : P 62^{c}.22 — *tulasī so jaga maniata mahāmunī so* TK, S 63 : P 21, S 63 : P 22, S 63 : P 22.21, S 63 : P 31^{c}.21, S 63 : A 62^{c} — *aise ko aiso bhayo kabahū^{n} na* TK, P 1 : A 53^{c} — *bhalo buro jana āpano* TVp, P I : A 61^{c}, P 1.21 : A 61^{c}, P 1.22 : A 61^{c}, P 1.31 : A 61^{c}, P 1.31 : A 63^{c}, P 1.321 : A 61^{c}, P 21 : C 1.31^{c}, P 21 : C 31^{c}, P 21 : C 321^{c}, P 21 : C 322^{c} —*acala rāja calihai na calāyo* TG, P 21 : C 53^{c}.721 — *jiyai jaga me^{n} tumharo binu hvai* TK, P. 21 : C 61^{c}, P 21 : C 61^{c}.31^{c}, P 21 : C 61^{c}.321^{i}, P 21 : C 62^{c}.721 — *raghubara ko hvai tava tāra rahau^{n}go* TK, P 22 : C 1.31^{c}, P 22 : C 31^{c}, P 22 : C 321^{c}, P 22 : C 61^{c}, P 22: C 61^{i}.31^{c}, P 22: C 61^{c}.31^{c}, P 22: C 62^{c}, P 31: C 321^{c}— *jo pai cerāī rāma kī karato na lajāto* TVp, P 31 : C 61^{c}, P 31 : C 62^{c}, P 31 : C 62^{c}.711, P 321 : C 1.31^{c} — *rāvaro cāhata bhayo cero* TVp, P 322 : C 62^{c} — *je mṛga rāma bāna ke māre* TRm, P 422 : A 62^{c}, P 52.21 : A 53^{c}, P 61 : A 62^{c}, P 61 : A 63^{c}, P 61 : C 62^{c}, P 61.31 : C 61^{c}, P 61.31: C 712, P 62/1/: A 52^{c}, P 62/1/.21 : A 61^{c}, O 1^{dir} : P 1.322^{c} — *kīnhī chonī chatrī binu* TK, O 1^{dir} : P 31^{c}.322^{c}, O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21, O 1^{dir} : P 53^{c}.322^{c} — *so tulasī kiyo āpuno* TVp, O 1^{dir} : P 61^{i}.322^{c}, O 1^{dir} : P 61^{c}.322^{c}, O 1^{dir} : P 62^{c}.322^{c}, O 1^{dir} : P

53. The double syntactic /or, at least, formal/ relationships appear distinctly in the construction like this one: P 61^{c}.22 $\overset{3}{\leftarrow\rightarrow}$ 0 1. This, however, requires special investigation.

62^{c}.322^{c}.21 — *bana bāsī pura loga mahāmuni kie hai^{n} kāṭha ke se* TG, O 1^{dir} : P 81.322^{c}, O 1 : A 31^{c}, O 1 : A 322^{c}, O 1 : A 52^{c}, O 1 : A 61^{c}, O 1 : A 62^{c}, O 1 : A 63^{c}, O 1 : C 31^{c}, O 1 : 322^{c}, O 1 : C 53^{c}, O 1 : C 61^{c}, O 1 : C 61^{c}.322^{i} — *prabhu bidhi bacanu kīnha caha sācā* TRm, O 1 : C 62^{c}, O 31^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 31^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21, O 31 : A 61^{c}, O 322^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 322^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21, O 322 : A 52^{c}, O 322 : A 62^{c}, O 411^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 411 : A 61^{c}, O 411 : A 62^{c}, O 422^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 422 : A 61^{c}, O 422 : A 62^{c}, O 51^{dir} : P 322^{c} O 51^{dir} : P 53^{c}.322^{c} — *kahāyo rāma rāvaro hau^{n}* TK, O 52^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 52 : A 53^{c}, O 61^{dir} : P 31^{c}.322^{c}, O 61^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 61^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21, O 61 : A 53^{c}, O 61 : A 61^{c}, O 61 : A 62^{c}, O 61 : A 63^{c}, O 62^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 62^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21, O 62/1/ : A 62^{c}, O 63^{dir} : P 322^{c}, O 63^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21, A 1 : A 431^{c} — *hota hare hone biravani dala* TG, A 1 : A 61^{c}, A 1 : A 63^{c}, A 322 : C 53^{c}, A 322 : C 62^{c} — *khāta tā ke diye phala* TVp, A 61 : C 61^{c}, A 61 : C 63^{c}, A 62/1/ : A 52^{c}, A 62/1/ : A 53^{c}, A 62/1/ : A 61^{c}, A 62/1/ : A 62^{c}, C 1 : A 31^{c}, C 1 : A 52^{c}, C 1 : A 53^{c}, C 1 : A 61^{c} — *jeṭhe sutahi rāja nrpa dīnhā* TRm, C 1 : A 62^{c}, C 1 : A 63^{c}, C 1.31 : A 52^{c}, C 31 : A 61^{c}, C 31 : A 62^{c}, C 322 : A 53^{c}, C 322 : A 62^{c}, C 61 : A 81.322^{c} — *dūri kiye dīna ko na dūsarī sarana* TVp:

Σ 3

S 412 : O 1 — *giri dekhana mana anurāgata* TG, S 422 : O 1 — *anāyāsa pāihai^{n} janama phala totare bacana sunaiyā* TG, P 1.22 : O 51 — *cakora mohi^{n} kījai* TVp, P 1.322 : S 1 —*ko sāhiba kiya mīta prīti basa khaga nisicara kapi bhila bhālu* TVp, p 1.322 : S 51 — *sura mai^{n} na jāne sura kai* TH, P 1.322 : O 1^{obl} — *kapi ko kiye mīta* TVp, P 22 : O 1, P 22 : O 31, P 22 : O 322, P 22 : O 411, P 22 : O 412, P 22 : O 421, P 22 : O 51, P 22 : O 52, P 22 : O 61, P 22 : O 62, P 22 : O 63, P 321 : O 1 : P 321 : O 31, P 321 : O 411, P 321 : O 51, P 321 : O 52, P 321 : O 61, P 321 : O 62, P 321.21 : O 1 — *dhāvata dikhāvata hai^{n} lāghau rāghau bāna ke* TK, P 321.21 : O 51, P 321.21 : O 53, P 321.21 : O 61, P 322 : S 1 — *pārabatī^{n} tapu kīnha apārā* TRm, P 322 : S 51 — *rāvare^{n} kṛpā karī* TK,

P 322 : S 52, P 322 : S 61, P 322 : O 1^{obl} — *pathayo sūpanakhahi lakhana ke pāsa* TB, P 322 : O 51^{obl} — *kāhe te hari mohi^{n} bisāro* TVp, P 322.21 : S 1, P 322.21 : S 51, P 322.21 : S 61, P 322.21 : S 62, P 53.22 : O 51 — *kījai mohi^{n} āpano* TVp, P 61.22 : O 1, P 61.22 : O 51, P 61.22 : O 61, P. 61.322 : S 1 — *muninha namita mukha kīnhe^{n}* TG, P 61.322 : S 51, P 61.322 : O 1, P 61.322 : O 52, P 81.22 : O 1, P 81.22 : O 52, P 81.322 : S 1, — *rāma sabani kī dūri karī saba sūla* TVp, O 412 : O 1, O 422 : O 1, O 422 : O 52, C 1.712 : O 1—*bāra bāra bidhu badana bilokati locana cāru cakora kiye* TG, C 1.722: O 1, C 321: O 1, C 412: O 1, C 412: O 31, C 412: O 412, C 412: O 51, C 61.412: O 1 — *kībe ko bisoka loka loka pāla hute saba* TK, C 61.722 : O 1, C 712 : O 1, C 712 : O 52, C 712 : O 61, C 712 : O 62, C 712 : O 63, C 722 : O 1, C 722 : O 31, C 722 : O 322, C 722 : O 51, V 722: O 52, C 722: O 61, C 722: O 63, C 81.722: O 1 — *sīya āge kari* TG.

2.2.

The basic difference between endosyntagmatic and exosyntagmatic syntactic relationships is that the sentence parts in endosyntagmatic relationships form syntagmas and the sentence parts in exosyntagmatic relationships do not form syntagmas. This may be the reason why previous syntactic analyses passed exosyntagmatic relationships without notice.[54]

To overlook the relationships between sentence parts belonging to different syntagmas in Hindī means to distort the actual structure of the sentence. For example, the sentence *lasata la^{n}ka lāha sī* TK contains two syntagmas, and that

54. As far as I know, a hint at the exosyntagmatic relationships has been made in GLEASON /14/, pp. 188-189, but the standpoint expressed here with regard to this direction of syntactic analysis is, to my sorrow, absolutely negative. It was caused perhaps by the English language structure and, moreover, also by the author's unsuitable approach to this problem. The complicated system of the exosyntagmatic relationships must be analyzed in detail, otherwise the hierarchic structure of sentence will remain in its subtleness ungrasped.

la^{n}ka : *lasata* — S 1 : P 31^{i} and *lasata* : *lāha sī* — P 31 : C 62^{c}. The endosyntagmatic relationship between the sentence parts in both syntagmas is $\leftrightarrows 1$, as in the functor realizing the function of predicate the features of grammatic gender, number or person are not expressed, not even to speak of case, of course, so that any congruence is impossible here. The exosyntagmatic relationship of the first degree, i.e. through one mediatory sentence part, *la^{n}ka* : *lāha sī* — S 1 : /P 31^{i}/ : C 62^{c}, is to be considered something like exosyntagmatic determination concerning the grammatic content and exosyntagmatic congruence concerning form; it may be characterized shortly as $\leftrightarrows 2'$.

Exosyntagmatic relationships are, naturally, of different degrees, according to the number of their mediatory sentence parts, i.e. the sentence parts that in the sentence structure mediate between the two participant sentence parts of such an exosyntagmatic relationship. I must emphasize that not the word-order, but the actual sentence structure is decisive in this point.

If in addition to the symbols for the associate dependent sentence part /^{d}F f^{a}/, the accordant incongruent dependent sentence part /^{d}F f^{i}/ and the accordant congruent dependent sentence part /^{d}F f^{c}/, we introduce another symbol, ^{d}F f^{g}, for the dependent sentence part whose form is governed by its head sentence part, we can establish the following general formulas for endosyntagmatic relationships:

$$\leftrightarrows 1 = {}^{h}\text{F f} : {}^{d}\text{F } f^{ai}$$

$$\leftrightarrows 2 = {}^{h}\text{F f} : {}^{d}\text{F } f^{c}$$

$$\leftrightarrows 3 = {}^{h}\text{F f} : {}^{d}\text{F } f^{g}$$

There are total 32 different couples of sentence parts entering the exosyntagmatic relationships, their mediatory sentence parts being taken into account, too. These couples make up two groups according to structural straightness or

brokenness of the relationship; this depends on the position of the head sentence part in the analyzed construction. See:

$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{a} : \ldots /^{55} : {}^{d}F\ f^{a} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{a} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{a} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{a} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{i} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{a} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{i} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{i} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 2' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{i} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{c} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{a} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{c} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{c} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 2' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{c} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{g} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{a} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{g} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{g} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{g} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{a} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{a} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{a} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{a} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{a} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$*{}^{d'}F\ f^{i} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{a}{}^{56} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{i} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{i} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{i} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$*{}^{d'}F\ f^{c} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{a} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$*{}^{d'}F\ f^{c} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 1' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{c} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 2' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{c} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$*{}^{d'}F\ f^{g} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{a} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$

55. The mediatory sentence part is dependent with regard to the previous sentence part, but it is head with regard to the subsequent one; therefore the index ^{dh} here.

56. The formulas marked by an asterisk are in fact some previous formulas reversed.

$*{}^{d'}F\ f^{g} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{i} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$*{}^{d'}F\ f^{g} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{c} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$
$^{d'}F\ f^{g} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{g} = \Sigma 3' \ldots$

These basic formulas for exosyntagmatic relationships may be expressed shortly like this:

$$\Sigma 1' \ldots = \begin{array}{l} {}^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{aic} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{ai} \\ {}^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{a} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{c} \\ {}^{d'}F\ f^{aic} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{ai} \end{array}$$

$$\Sigma 2' \ldots = \begin{array}{l} {}^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{ic} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{c}{}^{57} \\ {}^{d'}F\ f^{c} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{c} \end{array}$$

$$\Sigma 3' \ldots = \begin{array}{l} {}^{h}F\ f : /^{dh}F\ f^{aic}/g/ : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{g} \\ {}^{h}F\ f : : /^{dh}F\ f^{g} : \ldots / : {}^{d}F\ f^{aic}/g/ \\ {}^{d'}F\ f^{aicg} : /^{h}F\ f : \ldots / : {}^{d''}F\ f^{g}{}^{58} \end{array}$$

Endosyntagmatic and exosyntagmatic relationships are linked together in a perfect system of syntactic relationships which can be represented by the following table:

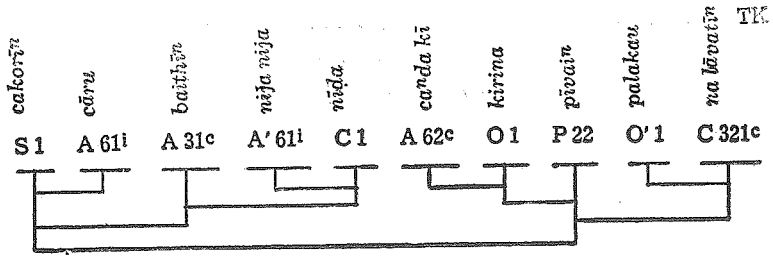
the number of Ff in the sentence	1	2	3	4	5	...	n
the number of do-syntagmatic relationships	0	1	2	3	4	...	n-1
the total of exo-syntagmatic relationships	0	0	1	3	6	...	$\frac{n^2-n}{2}$ - /n-1/
the total of all syntagmatic relationships in the sentence	0	1	3	6	10	...	$\frac{n^2-n}{2}$

57. The mediatory sentence part whose functor is 62, however, makes the existence of the exosyntagmatic relationship $\Sigma 2' \ldots$ impossible in this formula, e.g. S 1 : /A 62^{c}/1// : A 62^{c} — *cahũ^{n} disi bhã^{n}ga kī ṭāṭinha ke paradā hain* TK, P 1.21 : /A 62^{c}/1// : A 52^{c} — *kāhū bhūpa ke kumāra hain* TK.

58. Some formulas of the exosyntagmatic relationships should be perhaps considered belonging rather to $\Sigma 1' \ldots$ than to $\Sigma 3' \ldots$, but I

Continued on next page

In sentences the parts of which do not form a totally regular hierarchy, i.e. in which each head sentence part is not expanded by only one sentence part directly dependent on it, and that is most frequent, it is not possible to establish generally the number of exosyntagmatic relationships of individual degrees, but only their total. That is because the total number of exosyntagmatic relationships depends on the number of sentence parts regardless to the structure of the sentence, while the distribution of these relationships in their individual degrees is determined by the concrete sentence structure. Let us see a more complicated sentence:



This sentence has 10 sentence parts, *nija nija* being taken as a simplex. There are total 45 syntactic relationships between the sentence parts in this sentence, namely 9 endosyntagmatic and 36 exosyntagmatic. The distribution of the exosyntagmatic relationships of particular degrees depends entirely on the sentence structure—10 exosyntagmatic relationships of the first degree, 11 of the second, 9 of the third, 4 of the fourth and lastly 2 exosyntagmatic relationships of the fifth degree are found here.

Continued from previous page
am not too sure of it now. If the mediatory sentence parts in higher degrees of exosyntagmatic relationships are different regarding their formal relationship with their head sentence parts, then the hierarchy of their mutual superiority runs as follows: the congruent and incongruent accordant dependent sentence parts are in this respect coordinate, the associate dependent sentence part is superior to both of them, and the governed dependent sentence part is superior to all of them.

Arranged systematically:

Σ 1
S 1 : A 61^{i}, A 31 : C 1, C 1 : A′ 61^{i};

Σ 2
S 1 : P 22, S 1 : A 31^{c}, P 22 : C 321^{c}, O 1 : A 62^{c};

Σ 3
P 22 : O 1, C 321 : O′ 1.

Σ 1′
S 1 : /A 31^{c}/ : C 1, A 31^{c} : /C 1/ : A′ 61^{i}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 22, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1/ : A 31^{c},

Σ 1″
S 1 : /A 31^{c} : C 1/ : A′ 61^{i}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : A 31^{c}/ : C 1, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 22,

Σ 1‴
A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : A 31^{c} : C 1/ : A′ 61^{i}, A′ 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 22, C 1 /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c},

Σ 1⁗
A′ 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c};

Σ 2′
S 1 : /P 22/ : C 321^{c}, A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 22,

Σ 2″
A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c};

Σ 3′
S 1 : /P 22/ : O 1, P 22 : /O 1/ : A 62^{c}, P 22 : /C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1, C 321^{c} : /^{h}P 22/ : O 1,

Σ 3″
S 1 : /P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, S 1 : /P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1, O 1: /^{h}P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1, A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1, C 321^{c} : /^{h}P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c},

Σ 3‴
A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 :

P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1, A 62^{c} : /O 1 : ^{h}P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1,

Σ 3′′′′

A′ 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1,

Σ 3′′′′′

A′ 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, A′ 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O′ 1.

The dependent sentence parts whose head sentence part is elided are in exosyntagmatic relationships only, e.g. *dūri kiye dīna ko na dūsarī sarana* TVp, where the predicate function is not realized and the exosyntagmatic relationship between S 1 : /P Ø / : C 61^{a} is Σ 1′, or *khelata hī dekhau^{n} nija ā^{n}gana sadā sahita balarāmahi* TŚ, where the object function is elided and the exosyntagmatic relationship between P 22 : /O Ø/ : C 711 is Σ 3′. Such a thing is found rather exceptionally, of course.

Some examples of the exosyntagmatic relationships follow here.

Σ 1′

S 1 : /P 1/ : A 61^{i} — *ūdho parama hitū* TŚ, S 1 : /P 1/ : A 62^{i}, S 1 : /P 1/ : A 63^{i}, S 1 : /P 21/ : C 711, S 1 : /P 21/ : C 712, S 1 : /P 21/ : C 81, S 1 : /P 21/ : C 82 — *sā^{n}cehu bibhīṣana āihai* TG, S 1 : /P 22/ : C 1 — *sakhī kahai sakhī so^{n}* TK, S 1 : /P 31^{c}/ : C 1 — *prabhu cale mṛga pati jyau^{n}* TG, S 1 : /P 31^{c}/ : C 711, S 1 : /P 31^{i}/ : C 81, S 1 : / 31^{c}/ : C 81, S 1 : /P 31^{c}/ : C 82, S 1 : /P 321^{i}/ : C 1, S 1 : /P 321^{i}/ : C 51, S 1 : /P 321^{c}/ : C 711, S 1 : /P 321^{i}/ : C 81, S 1 : /P 61^{i}/ : C 61^{i} — *nāri sahaja jaṛa agya* TRm, S 1 : /P 61^{c}/ : C 9 — *jaise rāma lalita taise lone laṣana* TG, S 1 : /A 31^{c}/ : C 1, S 51 : /P 1/ : A 61^{i}, S 52 : /P 21/ : O 9, S 52 : /P 22/ : A 61^{i}, S 52 : /P 22/ : A 62^{i}, S 52 : /P 22/ : C 52^{a}, S 61 : /P 1.21/ : A 61^{i}, S 61 : /P 61^{c}.21/ : C 52^{a}, S 9 : /P 1/ : C 81, P 21 : /C 1/ : A 53^{c} — *tihāre pāya^{n} parau^{n}* TŚ, P 21 : /C 1/ : A 61^{i}, P 21 : /C 1/ : A 61^{c}, P 22 : /O 1/ : A 9, P 22 : /C 1/ :

A 52^{i}, P 31 : /C 1/ : A 1, P 31 : /C 81/ : C 1, P 31 : /C 82/ : C 1 — *guru te^{n} pahilehi^{n} jagata pati jāge* TRm, P 321 : /C 1.31^{c}/ : A 52^{i}, O 1 : /A 62^{c}/1// : A 9, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}/ : C 412^{a} — *kahibe kaha^{n} rasanā racī sunibe kaha^{n} kie kāna* TD, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}/ : C 721, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}/ : C 722, O 61^{dir} : /P 322^{c}/ : C 722, A 31^{c} : /C 1/ : A 61^{i},

P 322^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : A 1, P 322^{c} : /^{h}O 61^{dir}/ : A 63^{i}, O 1 : /^{h}P 321/ : C 9, A 1 : /^{h}S 1/ : P 21, A 52^{a} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c} — *tinhī so^{n} bhāu nīko* TK, A 52^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : A 53^{i}, A 52^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : A 9, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 21 — *māre jaihahi^{n} saba rājā* TRm, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 22, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 82 — *pati āna na more* TVp, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1/ : A 31^{c}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}, A 62^{c}, : /^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{i}, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 412/ : P 1, C 1 : /^{h}P 61.31/ : C 61^{a}, C 81 : /^{h}P 21/ : C 81 — *aba na kahū^{n} cali jaihau^{n}* TVp,

Σ 1″

S 1 : /P 1.21 : C 711/ : C 61^{i} — *ghṛta madhu sarisa mile^{n} mahābiṣa hoi* TD, S 1 : /P 1.21 : C 712/ : C 81, S 1 : /P 1.31^{i} : C 1/ : A 61^{i}, S 1 : /P 1.31^{c} : C 61^{a}/ : A 62^{c} — *tulasī se bāma ko bho dāhino dayā nidhānu* TK, S 1 : /P 21 : C 1/ : A 61^{i} — *āna upāya^{n} na miṭihi kalesū* TRm, S 1 : /P 21 : C 1/ : A 62^{c}, S 1 : /P 21 : C 711/ : C 81, S 1 : /P 31^{c} : C 412/ : C 1 — *bhānu so^{n} paṛhana hanumāna gaye* TH, S 1 : /P 31^{c} : C 711/ : C 1, S 1 : /P 31^{c} : C 711/ : C 81, S 1 : /P 31^{i}.21 : C 1/ : A 52^{i}, S 1 : /P 31^{c}.21 : C 1/ : A 61^{c}, S 1 : /P 31^{c}.21 : C 711/ : C 81, S 1 : /P 432^{i} : C 1/ : A 62^{c} — *kāhū kī beṭī so^{n} beṭa na byāhaba* TK, S 1 : /A 31^{c} : C 1 : A 61^{i}, S 52 : /P 21 : C 711/ : C 52^{a}, S 52 : /P 21 : C 711/ : C 81, S 52 : /P 21 : C 712 : C 81, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c} : C 1/ : A 61^{c}, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{i}.21 : C 1/ : A 62^{i}, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}.21 : C 711/ : C 81,

A 1 : /^{h}S 51 : P 21/ : C 81 — *kimi samujhau^{n} mai^{n} jīva jaṛa* TRm, A 52^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 1/ : A 1 — *so nara pasu binu pū^{n}cha biṣāna* TD, A 53^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}/ : C 81, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 721.31^{c}/ : C 1, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : A 31^{c}/ : C 1, A 61^{i} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}/ : C 81, A 61^{i} :

/^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{i}/ : C 82, A 9 : /^{h}S 1 : P 431^{c}/ : C 81 — *jā ko aiso dūtu so to sāhebu abai āvano* TK, A 9 : /^{h}S 52 : P 31^{c}/ : C 1, C 1 : /^{h}P 31 : C 1/ : C 1 — *rāma prati bole ura ati krodhu* TRm, C 1 : /^{h}P 31 : C 1/ : C 81, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 22,

Σ 1‴

A 52^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 21 : C 711/ : C 52^{a},

A 52^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 21 : C 1/ : C 52^{a} — *so pāmara tehi mīcu marai* TVp, A 52^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 31^{i} : C 1/ : A 52^{c}, A 52^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 61^{i} : C 711/ : C 52^{a} — *sevata tohi sulabha phala cārī* TRm, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 21 : C 1/ : A 61^{c}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : A 31^{c} : C 1/ : A 61^{i}, A 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 22, A 61^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 31^{c}.21 : C 1/ : C 61^{a}, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c}, C 81 : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 31^{i}.21/ : C 81, C 81 : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{i}/ : C 1, C 81 : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21/ : C 81,

Σ 1⁗

A 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c}, C 81 : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 1.21 : A 61^{i}/ : C 81, C 81 : /A 61^{i} : ^{h}S 1 : P 1.21 : A 62^{c}/ : C 81, C 82 : /A 61^{i} : ^{h}S 1 : P 1.21 : A 62^{i}/ : C 82;

Σ 2′

S 1 : /P 21/ : C 322^{c} — *dānuja mahābala maraī na mārā* TRm, S 1 : /P 22/ : C 321^{c}, S 1 : /P 31^{i}/ : C 31^{c}, S 1 : /P 31^{c}/ : C 321^{c} — *bara nāri calīⁿ gāvatīⁿ* TK, S 1 : /P 61^{c}/ : C 61^{c} — *saⁿkara baṛe bhore* TVp, S 1 : /P 61^{i}.21/ : C 31^{c}, S 1 : /P 61^{c}.21/ : C 322^{c}, S 1 : /P 61^{c}.21/ : C 61^{c}, S 53 : /P 31^{c}/ : C 61^{c}, S 61 : /P 52^{i}.21/ : A 53^{c} — *sāⁿvare se sakhi rāvare ko haiⁿ* TK, P 31.21 : /C 721/ : C 61^{c} — *rahauⁿ darabāra paro laṭi lūlo* TH, P 322 : /C 711/ : C 31^{c}, O 1^{dir} : /P 61^{c}.322^{c}.21/ : C 63^{c} — *roṣu keto baṛo kiyo hai* TŚ, O 1 : /A 322^{c}/ : C 62^{c} — *khātā tā ke diye phala* TVp, O 1 : /A 61^{i}/ : C 61^{c}, O 1 : /A 61^{c}/ : C 63^{c}, A 62/1/ : /A 61^{c}/ : C 63^{c}, C 1 : /A 61^{c}/ : C 63^{c},

A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 22, A 52^{c} : /^{h}O 1/ : A 62^{c} — *yā braja kī dasā bicārau* TŚ, A 53^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 432^{c}, A 53^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c}.31^{i}, A 53^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 63^{c} — *eto mato hamāro* TVp,

A 53^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 63^{c}.21, A 53^{c} : /^{h}S 322/ : P 432^{c} — *kahyo tihāroi kībo* TŚ, A 53^{c} : /^{h}O 52^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}.21 — *maiⁿ ḍhāro bigāro tihāro kahā hai* TK, A 61^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}, A 61^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}.21, A 61^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : A 61^{c}, A 61^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : A 62^{c}, A 61^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 21 — *hulasaiⁿ ālasī hama se* TK, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}.21, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 53^{i}.21, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 53^{c}.21, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c} — *mo se jana tuma ko bahutere* TG, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c}.21, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c}.31^{i}.21, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 62^{c} — *dhobī kaiso kūkaru na ghara ko na ghāṭa ko* TK, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 63^{c}.21, A 62^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : P 322^{c} — *to se aneka khala apanāye jānakī nātha* TVp, A 62^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}.21, A 62^{c} : /^{h}O 52^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}, A 63^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 21, A 63^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}, A 63^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c}, A 63^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c}.31^{i}, A 63^{c} : /^{h}S 1/ : P 61^{c}.31^{c}, A 63^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}, A 63^{c} : /^{h}O 61^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}, A 63^{c} : /^{h}O 61^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}.21,

Σ 2″

A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : C 321^{c}, C 53^{c} : /A 322^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 21, C 53^{c} : /A 322^{c} : ^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : P 322^{c} — *apane dekhe doṣa sapanehuⁿ rāma na ura dhare* TD, C 53^{c} : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}.21, C 63^{c} : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c} — *eto baṛo aparādha bhau* TVp, C 63^{c} : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}.21, C 63^{c} : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}S 1/ : P 31^{c}.31^{c}, C 63^{c} : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}O 1^{dir}/ : P 322^{c}.21;[59]

Σ 3′

S 1 : /P22/ : O 1 — *hā hā karai tulasī* TK, S 1 : /P 321^{c}/ : O 61, S 51: /P 321^{c}.21/ : O 1, S 51 : /P 321^{c}.21/ : O 61, S 51 : /P 321^{i}.21/ : O 62, S 51 : /P 61^{c}.22/ : O 1, P 22 : /O 1/ : A 52^{c}, P 22 : /O 1/ : A 61^{c}, P 22 : /O 1/ : A 62^{c} — *chamahu cūka anajānata kerī* TRm, P 22: /O 412/ : O 1 — *mo ko*

59. The exosyntagmatic relationships Σ 2‴ and higher were not found in the works of Tulsīdās, though they are theoretically possible in Hindī, e.g. C 63^{c} : /A 61^{c} : S 1 : P 21/ : C 62^{c} or C 63^{c} : /A 61^{i} : S 1 : P 1.21 : A 61^{c}/ : C 61^{c}.

bidhu badana bilokana dījai TG, P 22 : /C 321^{c}/ : O 1, P 31 : /O 412/ : O 1, P 31 : /O 412/ : O 51, P 31 : /C 412/ : O 52 — *tāhi bā^{n}dhibe ko dhāī* TŚ, P 321 : /O 1/ : A 61^{c}, P 321 : /O 1/ : C 322^{c} — *prabhu dekhyoi* cāhati TŚ, P 61.21 : /C 712/ : O 1, P 61.31 : /C 712/ : O 61 — *baṛo gahe te hota baṛa* TD, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}/ : S 1, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}/ : S 52 — *inhahi^{n} tāṛakā mārī gautama kī tiya tārī* TG, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{i}/ : S 61, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}.21/ : S 1, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}.21/ : S 51, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}.21/ : S 52, O 1^{dir} : /P 61^{c}.322^{c}/ : S 51 — *bhīkha bhalī mai^{n} jānī* TVp, C 712 : /O 1/ : A 61^{i}, C 722 : /O 1/ : C 711, C 81: /C 722/ : O 52,

P 322^{c} : /^{h}O 412^{dir}/ : O 1 — *kahana cahyo sa^{n}desa* TG, A 61^{c} : /^{h}P 1.22/ : O 1, A 61^{c} : /^{h}P 422/ : O 1, C 321^{c} : /^{h}P 22/ : O 1, C 51 : /^{h}P 22/ : O 1, C 51 : /^{h}P 22/ : O 61, C 81 : /^{h}P 22/ : O 1, C 81 : /^{h}P 321/ : O 1, C 81 : /^{h}P 321/ : O 61,

Σ 3″

S 1 : /P 21 : C 712/ : O 52 — *tiya subhāya kachu pūchata ḍarahī^{n}* TRm, S 1 : /P 21 : C 722/ : O 1, S 1 : /P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, S 1 : /P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O 1, S 1 : /P 31^{i} : C 712/ : O 61, S 1 : /P 321^{i} : O 1/ : A 61^{c}, S 1 : /P 321^{c} : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, S 1 : /P 321^{i} : O 1/ : A 63^{c}, S 1 : /P 321^{i} : O 412/ : O 1 — *rāma cahata siva cāpahi capari caṛhāvanu* TJ, S 1 : / 321^{c}.21 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, S 61 : /P 321^{i}.21 : O 52/ : C 322^{c} — *nīca soū cāhata khasāī* TK, S 61 : /P 422^{i} : O 1/ : A 61^{c}, P 22 : /O 1 : A 61^{i}/ : C 81, O 1^{dir} : /P 1.322^{c} : S 1/ : A 52^{i}, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c} : C722/ : O 51 — *tohi^{n} janami jāya jananī jaṛa tanu taṛunatā ga^{n}vāī* TVp, O 1^{dir} : /P 322^{c}.21 : C 722/ : O 61,

O 1 : /^{h}S 412 : P 31^{c}/ : C 1 — *hātha mī^{n}jibo hātha rahyo* TG, O 1 : /^{h}P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O 1, O 1 : /^{h}P 22 : C 712/ : O 1, A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1, A 52^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 61^{i}.22/ : O 51, A 52^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 61^{c}.22/ : O 61, A 53^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}/ : S 51 — *tai^{n} mero marama kachū nahi^{n} pāyo* TG, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1, A 61^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}/ : S 51, A 61^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21/ : C 61^{a}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 61^{i}.322^{c}/ : S 51 — *tai^{n} nija karama ḍori dṛṛha kīnhī* TVp, A 62^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}/ : S 1, A 62^{c} : /^{h}O 322^{dir} : P 322^{c}.21/ : S 51 — *tumha kānha hī kī kahī kyo^{n} na kahī hai* TŚ, A 62^{c} : /C 1 : ^{h}P 321/ : O 1, A 63^{c} : /^{h}O 1^{dir} : P 322^{c}/ : S 1, C 1 : /^{h}P 21 : C 712/ : O 1, C 1 : /^{h}P 21 : C 722/ : O 52, C 1 : /^{h}P 31 : C 412/ : O 1, C 321^{c} : /^{h}P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, C 322^{c} : /O 1 : /^{h}P 321/ : C 712 — *jānatahū cāhata biṣa khāyo* TG, C 322^{c} : /O 1 : ^{h}P 321.21/ : C 81,

Σ 3‴

S 1 : /P 1. 31^{i} : C 712 : O 1/ : A 53^{c} — *tero nāma leta hī sukheta hota ūsaro* TVp, S 1 : /P 21 : C 712 : O 1/ : A 61^{i}, S 1 : /P 31^{c} : C 712 : O 1/ : A 61^{i}, S 52 : /P 61^{i} : C 412 : O 1/ : A 62^{c} — *mahimā rāma kī kauna jānibe joga* TD, S 61 : /P 61^{c} : C 412 : O 1/ : A 61^{i},

O 1 : /^{h}P 22 : C 722 : O 1/ : A 63^{c} — *sukha cahasi aise prabhuhi bisāri* TD, O 1 : /^{h}P 321 : C 1.712 : O 1/ : A 61^{i} — *bidhu badana bilokati locana cāru cakora kiye* TG, A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O 1, A 31^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 31^{c} : C 712/ : O 1, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, A 61^{i} : /^{h}S 1 : P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O 1, A 61^{i} : /C 1 : ^{h}P 31 : C 722/ : O 1, A 62^{c} : /O 1 : ^{h}P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O 1, A 62^{c} : /^{h}S 1 : P 31^{c} : C 712/ : O 1, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1, C 63^{c} : /A 61^{c} : ^{h}P 1.21 : O 1/ : A 61^{c},

Σ 3⁗

S 51 : /P 31^{c} : C 722 : O 1 : C 61^{i}/ : C 63^{c} — *aisehu dukhita dekhi hau^{n} jīvati rāma lakhana ke ghore* TG, A 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22/ : O 1, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, C 1 : /A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O 1,

Σ 3⁗

A 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : O 1/ : A 62^{c}, A 61^{i} : /C 1 : A 31^{c} : ^{h}S 1 : P 22 : C 321^{c}/ : O 1;

etc.

3.

There are some interesting phenomena in the sentence composition of Hindī that require particular description. All

the phenomena under consideration — most characteristic features of the Hindī /or, at least, Old Hindī/ sentence composition — are important especially from the viewpoint of historic development of the language. Nevertheless, I describe them synchronically in this monograph.

3.1.

The ergative /or, agential/ construction is generally considered an active one, though it has its origin in an old passive construction.[60] What is remarkable in this construction is that the content syntactic relationships do not merely coincide with the formal ones, as it occurs, as a rule, in the active voice proper.

There are two types of ergative construction in Hindī, and that with the object function realized by a functor in nominative /or, direct/ form of the accusative case /i.e. ^{h}O f^{dir}/, or with the object function realized by a functor in dative /or, oblique/ form of the accusative case /i.e. ^{d}O f^{obl}.

The first ergative construction is modelled, as to its form, entirely in accordance with the old passive, e.g. *sudhi mai^{n} hū^{n} lahī hai* TVp, or *a^{n}dhani lahe hai^{n} bilocana tāre* TG; its meaning and also its classification in the system of Hindī tenses are, of course, far from having anything in common with the passive voice, though its form is of that sort.

The ergative construction with the object function realized by a functor in dative /or, oblique/ form of the accusative case is a result of the contamination of the said primordial ergative construction and a regular active construction with such an object function realized in this way, e.g, *pathayo sūpanakhahi lakhana ke pāsa* TB, or *mai^{n} tohi^{n} jānyo sa^{n}sāra* TVp.[61] More complicated ergative constructions do not occur in Hindī.[62]

60. Comp. BURROW /9/, p. 354.

61. Comp. GURU /15/, pp. 526 seq., and BARANNIKOV /3/, pp. 197 seq.

62. There are at least six ergative constructions evident in various NIA languages, which may be represented generally by these formulas:

Continued on next page

3.2.

Irregularities of sentence composition are not too frequent in the works of Tulsīdās. They might be classified in two groups according to their structural stability.

3.2.1.

Only two kinds of irregularities of sentence composition have been stabilized by that time.

A kind of construction with a participle in the function of complement may have its source in a contamination, e.g. *rāma ke uṭhana* and *rāma uṭhata* contamined into *rāma ke uṭhata* in *avasi rāma ke uṭhata sarāsana ṭūṭahi* TJ, *liye* and *lena te^{n}* contamined into *liye te^{n}*, and similarly *kiye* and *karana te^{n}* contamined into kiye *te^{n}*, in *je nāma liye te^{n} dhāvata dhenu penhāi lavāī jyo^{n} bālaka bolani kāna kiye te^{n}* TK,[63] or *cale^{n}* and *calana samaya* contamined into *cale^{n} samaya* in *tīrahu ke cale^{n} samaya pāibī thāha* TD.[64]

Another stabilized contamination has already been mentioned above in connection with the ergative construction.

In case an ergative construction is linked together with a regular active voice by their common subject function, we may regard it as a stabilized zeugma, e.g. *roṣyo rana rāvana*

Continued from previous page

$$\text{O f}^{\text{dir}} \overset{2}{\underset{3}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{P 322} \overset{3}{\underset{1}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{S f, S f} \overset{1}{\underset{3}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{P 322} \overset{3}{\underset{2}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{O f}^{\text{obl}}\text{, O f}^{\text{dir}} \overset{1}{\underset{3}{\longleftrightarrow}}$$

$$\text{P 322} \overset{3}{\underset{2}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{S f, S f} \overset{2}{\underset{3}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{P 322} \overset{3}{\underset{1}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{O f}^{\text{obl}}\text{, S f} \overset{1}{\underset{3}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{P 322} \overset{3}{\underset{1}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{O f}^{\text{obl}},$$

$$\text{O f}^{\text{dir}} \overset{2}{\underset{3}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{P 322} \overset{3}{\underset{2}{\longleftrightarrow}} \text{S f.}$$

The figure above the twofold arrow symbolizes the formal relationship from the previous sentence part to the following one, the figure below it symbolizing the formal relationship backwards.

63. Comp. PORÍZKA /26/, p. 534.

64. This is, it must be admitted, disputable to a certain extent. The complement *tīrahu ke cale^{n} samaya* may be considered also a coordination of two complements, namely a heterogeneous duplex *tīrahu ke cale^{n}* and a simplex *samaya*.

bolāe bīra bānaïta TK, *jānī rāma na kahi sake bharata lakhana siya prīti* TD.[65]

3.2.2.

The occasional irregularities of sentence composition are of various kinds. Parentheses do not influence the syntactic structure of the sentence at all; neither do ellipses, although they cause the change of the sentence part functions of individual sentence parts. The other irregularities of sentence composition, namely anacolutha and zeugmas, change the structure of the sentence to a considerable degree.

Parenthesis is syntactically unconnected with the sentence containing it, e.g. *bicāru in pāyo kehi ghṛta bicāru harina bāri mahata* TVp, *bali*[66] in *aisī bali kabahuⁿ nahiⁿ kījai* TŚ, *sakhī kahai sakhī soⁿ* in *locanābhirāma ghana syāma rāma rūpa sisu sakhī kahai sakhī soⁿ tūⁿ prema paya pāli rī* TK.

In case the sentence structure implies a sentence part which is not realized there, I consider it an ellipsis,[67] e.g. elided *bāta* in *rāvare soⁿ sāⁿcī kahauⁿ* TK, elided *upāya* in *koṭi karai jo koi* TVs, elided *ghara* in *bhūli na jāta hauⁿ kāhū keⁿ kāū* TŚ.[68]

The anacolutha were caused mostly by the poet's endeavour to express some intricate syntactic constructions as compactly as possible, e.g. *mani binu phani jimi jala binu mīnā mama jīvana timi tumhahi adhīnā* TRm, *bahuta dina bīte sudhi kachū na lahī gae jo pathika gore sāⁿvare saloně sakhi saⁿga nāri sukumāri rahī* TG, *birudāvalī bilokiye tinha meⁿ kou hauⁿ hauⁿ* TVp.

The zeugma is very rare, e.g. *loka kahai rāma ko gulāma hauⁿ kahāvauⁿ* TVp, where *rāma ko gulāma* functions on

65. Comp. BARANNIKOV /3/, pp. 200-201.

66. Elsewhere *bali jāuⁿ* TVp; comp. de VREESE /38/.

67. Comp. JESPERSEN /19/, p. 163. I do not consider elliptic such sentences like e.g. *kou kaha nara nārāyana hari hara kou* TB, *hāthī hathasāra jare ghore ghorasāra* TK.

68. Compare a lexicalized formula of the oath *gaⁿga mahaⁿ sāⁿca* with elided *kahauⁿ* in *jani paga dharahu gaⁿga mahaⁿ sāⁿca* TB.

the one hand as an object of *kahai* and on the other as a nominal predicate, with a copulative verb *kahāvauⁿ*, of *hauⁿ*.

In this connection, I would also like to mention the so-called independent sentence parts placed as if they were outside the sphere of syntactic relationships of the sentence.

As to me, vocatives and interjections, e.g. *hari jū* in *mero mana hari jū haṭha na tajai* TVp and *he* in *he hama samācāra saba pāe* TŚ, should not be mentioned here, as they are merely a special case of parentheses. An independent part of sentence is such a sentence part which is placed in extraposition[69] outside the syntactic structure of the given sentence. All sentence parts, or rather all the sentence part functions, might be extraponed in such a manner; in the sentence proper, however, the independent sentence part is substituted mostly by a pronoun or an adverb[70] and so is connected with the sentence. The functors are irrelevant here, of course. Some examples:—

S — *bidaryo akāsa in bidaryo akāsa so kaise jāta siyo hai* TG, *nāri puruṣa sisu jubā sayāne* in *nāri puruṣa sisu jubā sayāne nagara loga saba ati haraṣāne* TRm,

O — *avani ravani dhana dhāma suhṛda suta* in *avani ravani dhana dhāma suhṛda suta ko na inhahiⁿ apanāyo* TVp, *tapa tīratha upavāsa dāna makha* in *tapa tīratha upavāsa dāna makha jehi jo rucai karo so* TVp,

A — *ganī garība baṛo choṭo budha mūṛha hīna bala ati balo* in *gayě rāma sarana saba kau bhalo ganī garība baṛo choṭo budha mūṛha hīna bala ati balo* TG,

C — *ganikā kola kirāta ādi kabi* in *ganikā kola kirāta ādi kabi inha te adhika bāma ko* TVp, *kṛmi bhasma biṭa parināma tanu* in *kṛmi bhasma biṭa parināma tanu tehi lāgi jaga bairī bhayo* TVp.

69. Comp. JESPERSEN /19/, p. 45.

70. Comp. TESNIERE /34/, p. 328.

3.3.

If we consider only concrete lexical material, then only sentence parts and eventual grammatic /or, auxiliary/ words participate in the sentence composition. In the hierarchy of three levels, namely sentence — sentence part — grammatic word, under certain conditions, that is whenever it is necessary, shifting of syntactic functions takes place. These functional shifts are changes mutually different in quality; it is suitable to differentiate three degrees of them:

/1/ the original sentence loses its sentence value and takes on the function of a grammatic word,

/2/ the original sentence part loses its sentence part value and takes on the function of grammatic word,

/3/ the original sentence loses its sentence value and takes on the function of a sentence part.

The reverse shifting of syntactic functions exists, of course, in the language, too. But if a grammatic word takes on the function of a sentence part or even of a sentence, it is the matter of metalanguage; and if a sentence part takes on the function of a sentence, it requires a certain context. The first two cases of such a syntactic shifting were not found in the works of Tulsīdās at all and the third one is comparatively rare there.[71] It is why I neglect them.

3.3.1.

The cases of syntactic shifting from sentence to grammatic word have been fully lexicalized; they cannot be multiplied as eventually desired. The shifted sentences in question were all functional only—they are original non-sentences used in sentence function and then shifted to the function of grammatic words.

The functional enclitic interrogative sentence *ki na* "is not it?..." takes on the function of an intensific particle,

71. E.g. *lai kanhaiyā* TŚ, *abahiṁ tāta* TŚ, *bahutaka* TVp, *begi* TG, *satya* TG. These are to be considered the functional sentences.

e.g. *mohi baṛa mūṛha kahai kina koū* TRm, *bhūpa kisora dekhi kina lehū* TRm.

Some constructions lie on the boundary between parataxis and hypotaxis, that is to say — they are paratactic as to their origin and hypotactic as to their meaning. The functional nominal sentences *kārana*[72] "the cause /is this/" and *parināma* "the consequence /is this/" have taken on the function of the hypotactic conjunctions "because" and "and therefore", respectively, e.g. *neku biṣādu nahīṁ prahalādahi kārana kehari ke bala ho* TK, *jānikai joru karau parināma tumhai pachitauhau* TK.

The disjunctive paratactic conjunction *na/hiṁ/ tau...* "otherwise" is a shifted elliptic[73] conditional clause substitute with the correlative particle *tau...* "then",[74] e.g. *tulasidāsa bhava trāsa miṭai taba jaba mati yehi sarūpa aṭakai nāhiṁ ta dīna malīna hīna sukha koṭi janama bhrami bhrami bhaṭakai* TVp, *baraiṁ saṁbhu na tau rahaiṁ kwārī* TRm.

3.3.2.

The loss of the sentence part value of the sentence parts in function of grammatic words is not always of the same degree.[75] The transition is continuous here. This kind of syntactic shifting is most characteristic feature of this stage of development from the flective morphologic structure to the analytic one.[76] The semantic meaning of such functional grammatic words leans to decline, while the strong tendency to stress their grammatic meaning is noticed distinctly.

3.3.2.1.

Some substantives, adjectives and adverbs, and also some simple absolutives and adverbial participles can occasionally

72. Comp. JANÁCEK /18/, p. 199.

73. The conjunction *jadi* is very often elided even in hypotactic clauses; comp. LOZOVOJ /22/, p. 208, and GURU /15/, 226 seq.

74. There is a discontinuite conjunction *ṇaṁ ... to ...* in Apabhraṁśa; comp. TAGARE /33/, p. 334. But nothing like the Apabhraṁśa *anu* occurs in the works of Tulsīdās; comp. SINH/29/, p. 145.

75. Comp. BARCHUDAROV /5/, p. 31.

76. Comp. BARANNIKOV /4/, and ALSDORF /2/, p. 136.

take on the function of postpositions.[77] The substantives and the adjectives functioning as postpositions have always the form of the oblique case, other functional postpositions do not change their form. The form of modified sentence parts may be various; mostly it is the oblique case, and that without the suffix *-hi*... or with it,[78] or rarely the so-called genitive or a compound are found.[79]

Some examples: *taṭa* "riverside, bank, hill foot" = "to, towards" in *subela taṭa* TG, *maga* "way" = "through" in *sārasa maga* TŚ, *kārana* "cause" = "because of" in *bolibe kārana* TG, *anurūpa* "conformity, likeness" = "according to" in *sevā anurūpa* TK, *māthe* "head, surface" = "upwards" in *pātha māthe* TVp, *sahita* "common, commonly" = "with" in *sahita balarāmahi* TŚ, *bīca* "middle, centre" = "among, between" in *kāla ḍāṛhani bīca* TG; *lagi* "for, for the sake of" /from *laga-* "to cling, to touch"/ in *jhūṭhe jīvana lagi* TG, *lage* "till" /from *laga-* "to cling, to touch"/ in *āju lage* TŚ, *liye* "with" /from *le-* "to take"/ in *upahāra liye* TG,[80] *taji* "excepting" /from *taja-* "to leave"/ in *saⁿbhu taji* TVp, *tāki* "to, towards" /from *tāka-* "to look"/ in *sura taru tāki* TG, *kari* "by" /from *kara-* "to do"/ in *mukha kari* TG, *bhara* "on" /from *bhara-* "to fill"/ in *mukha bhara* TK, *hvai* "in, to, into" /from *hvai-* "to be"/ in *bipina hvai* TG,[81] *anuhāri* "as, like" /from *anuhāra-* "to compare, to liken"/ in *kānha kuⁿvara anuhāri* TŚ.

77. All the Hindī postpositions are originally sentence parts which, having lost their sentence part value, took on the function of grammatic words; comp. VARMĀ /37/, pp. 258 seq. The only exceptions are the *tatsama* prepositions *binā* and *prati*. A fairly full list of the functional postpositions in Braj is found in VARMĀ /36/, pp. 123 seq., comp. also JHĀ /20/, pp. 322 seq., and CĀṬURJYĀ /11/, pp. 105. 137 seq.

78. This suffix occurs in sg. of substantives only.

79. Comp. CHOLEVA /12/, pp. 115 seq.

80. The adverbial perfective participle of the verb *le-* in function of postposition can be joint also with the so-called genitive, e.g. *inha ke lieⁿ* TŚ, *ārati ke līnheⁿ* TVp. This construction is a proof of its having lost the sentence part value; otherwise the accusative case and not the so-called genitive should occur here.

81. Comp. ALSDORF /1/, pp. 22 seq.

If the functional postposition is joint with the so-called genitive, e.g. *tara* "bottom, flat" = "under" in *taru ke tara* TG, *ora* "side, direction" = "towards, against" in *inha kī ora* TG, *kāja* "duty, work," = "for the sake of" in *peṭa bharibe ke kāja* TK, then the so-called genitives *taru ke, inha kī* and *peṭa bharibe ke* must not be considered the determinant attributes of the respective substantives *tara, ora* and *kāja*, because they have lost their sentence part value and consequently they cannot have attributes. The expressions like *ke tara, kī ora* and *ke kāja* are to be considered as much as more or less stabilized postpositions.

Some substantives with the meaning of multitude put mostly in compound with another substantive or with a personal pronoun lose their sentence part value and take on the function of markers of plural, e.g. *loga* "people" in *sura-loga* TK, *gana* "group" in *gopi-gana* TŚ, *bṛⁿda* "crowd" in *muni-bṛⁿda* TK, *pāⁿti* "row" in *marāla-pāⁿti* TG, *samāja* "society" in *bana-samāja* TG.[82] Their sentence part value, however, is ratained, if they are joint with the so-called genitive, e.g. *devatani ko bṛⁿda* TG.

The substantive *ādi* or *ādika* "beginning", after its sentence part value is lost, takes on the function of a particle and means "and others, and so on, and things like that." It is a heritage from old times, as it is obvious from these examples: *byāsa ādi* TRm, *nāradādi* TG, *animādika* TVp. The compound may be declined, e.g. *jaba aⁿgadādina kī mati maⁿda bhaī* TK.

The adjectives with the meaning of likeness or identity, both *tatsama* and *tadbhava*, and the *tadbhava* pronominal adjectives put together with the oblique case of a substantive or a personal pronoun lose their sentence part value and become functional adjectivizing particles; they mean "like, same as, likewise". These functional particles are never

82. The substantives pluralized in this way in New Hindī are in the simple oblique case of sg.; comp. PORÍZKA /25/, p. 46.

joint with the so-called genitive. Whatever expression is modified by the functional particles in question, it takes on the character of adjective and so it may be used,[83] e.g. *mere maribe sama* TG, *tinha sarisa* TG, *debī sīya sārikhī* TK, *kamala asa* TB,[84] *dhuvā*^{n} *kaise* TVp.[85]

3.3.2.2.

Finite verbal forms lose their sentence part value[86] most frequently in the so-called absolutive constructions, i.e. in close junctions[87] of the simple absolutive[88] of a meaningful verb with the pertinent form of an auxiliary verb. A sort of functional differentiation takes place here: the meaningful verb, though it has not the finite form, contains the heart of semantic meaning of such a construction, while the auxiliary verb bears mostly the grammatic meaning and partly modifies the semantic meaning. The various auxiliary verbs modify the respective meaningful verbs in various ways, e.g. *jā–, ā–, cala–, ḍāra–* and *para–* are markers of intensification in *bho*^{n}*ṛe dina bhūli gayo* TH, *nayana rājīva nīra bhari āe* TG,[89] *māno marakata saila bisāla me*^{n} *phaili calī*^{n} *bara bīrabahūṭī*^{n} TK, *roga si*^{n}*dhu kyo*^{n} *na ḍāriyata gāya khura kai* TH, *upaji parī mamatā mana more*^{n} TRm,[90] *uṭha–, cala–*

83. Comp. PORÍZKA /27/, pp. 64 seq.

84. *asa* modifies a verbal form: *jagata jarata asa* TB, but no adjectivization takes place here.

85. Somewhat irregular is *dhobī kaiso kūkaru* TK, where *dhobī* must be an oblique case which has the value of the genitive.

86. Comp. STURTEVANT /30/, p. 136, BAUDIS /6/, pp. 199-200, and HAVRÂNEK-JEDLICKA /17/, p. 313.

87. The expression "close junction" is used here from the viewpoint of structure, not of word-order.

88. Both HACKER /16/, pp. 5 seq., and LIENHARD /21/, pp. 19 seq., use the term *Kurzabsolutiv.*

89. No formal marker is found, if the form of the verb *jā–* does not lose its sentence part value in such a position, e.g. *bhūli na jāta hau*^{n} *kāhū ke*^{n} *kāū* TŚ.

90. The verbs *jā–, ā–* and *cala–* in absolutive construction with the verb *le–* do not lose their sentence part value and their semantic meaning, too, e.g. *taba mo ko pavana pūta lai jaihai* TG, *kou bharata nikaṭa te*^{n} *samācāra lai āyo* TG, *jānakihi lai calī*^{n} TJ.

and *para–* function as inchoatives in *akulāi uṭhyo rāvana* TK,[91] *a*^{n}*khiyā*^{n} *ati cāru calī*^{n} *jala cvai* TK, *jaga bidita bāta hvai parī* TVp, duratives are represented by *raha–* only as in *rahahu tumha soī* TRm,[92] *bīta–* and *sirā–* are rare markers of conclusion or completion of the action expressed in *kari bītyo aba karatu hai karibe* TVp, *sobha kahi na sirāī* TVp, the relationship between the action and the agent is marked by *de–* or *le–* as in *moṭī mūṭhī māri dī* TK,[93] *yā te biparīta anahitana kī jāni lībī gati* TG,[94] *saka–* and *pāva–* mark modality in *kavana sakaï bhava ba*^{n}*dhana chorī* TRm, *pheri na pāvahi*^{n} TJ, and, finally, *baiṭha–*[95] and *rakha–* become markers of fixation of the action expressed and simultaneously they specify the relationship between the action and the agent in *rāmahū ko baiṭho dhūti kau*^{n} TK, *meṭi ko sakaï so a*^{n}*ku jo bidhi likhi rākheu* TP.

The original imperatives *mānu...* and *jānu...* have taken on the function of conjunctions—they mean "as if, as it were", e.g. *laṣana kaheu raghuna*^{n}*dana dekhiya bipina samāja mānahu cayana mayana pura āyaii priya ṛtu rāja* TG, *locana janu binu palaka lahe* TG. Their shift, however, is not always so convincing, e.g. *ma*^{n}*jīra nūpura balaya dhuni janu kāma tala tāra* TG.

91. But there is no absolutive construction in e.g. *sabari soi uṭhī* TG; it becomes obvious, of course, from the context only.

92. The verb *raha–* functions also as copula, e.g. *hau*^{n} *hū*^{n} *raho*^{n} *mauna hī* TH.

93. This applies only in constructions with transitive verbs. The verb *de–* in construction with intransitive verbs marks merely inchoativeness or intensification, e.g. *prabhu ha*^{n}*si dīnha* TRm, *bāla jyo*^{n} *diyo roi* TG; comp. PORÍZKA /25/, p. 193.

94. See an absolutive enlarged metri causa with *kai*, e.g. *hanumānu liyo gherikai* TK. The sentences like *kahā kahi lībo* TŚ may be analyzed only with an eye to the context; in the sentence just mentioned *lībo* does not lose its sentence part value/it functions as a predicate/ and *kahi* fills the function of complement. It is useful to be cautious also while analyzing the sentences like *puni puni sīya goda kari lehī*^{n} TRm, where *lehī*^{n} realizes the function of predicate and *kari*, having lost its sentence part value, functions as nothing but a marker of adverbization of *goda.*

95. But comp. HACKER /16/, pp. 53 seq.

The copula and the copulative verbs[96] are to be dealt with here, too, because they can never function as sentence part, though, on the other hand, they are very important from the viewpoint of sentence composition,[97] e.g. *hai* in *so hai kauna* TVp, *na bhae* in *saguna na bhae bhale* TG, *lāge* in *sasi malīna rabi sītala lāge* TRm, *parata* in *pāvaka kāma bhoga ghṛta teⁿ saṭha kaise parata bujhāyo* TVp, *kījai* in *kījai dāsa dāsa-tulasī aba,* TVp, *jānyo* in *taba teⁿ deha geha nija jānyo* TVp. From the copulative value of the verbs *ho-, raha-* and *aha-* their function in the so-called compound verbal tenses has developed. As far as the structure is concerned, it is most suitable to neglect the qualitative difference between the two kinds of construction, i.e. a nominal predicate with the copula /or, a copulative verb/ and a verbal tense formed analytically, e.g. *bhūkhe pyāse* and *calata,* both with haiⁿ, in *bhūkhe pyāsē pai calata cita cāya haiⁿ* TG.[98] The loss of the sentence part value is not of so high degree in some cases, e.g. *kahāe* in *aisēu jīva na jīva kahāe* TK, *karo* in *tuma jani mana mailo karo* TVp, *heri* in *pāharūī cora heri* TK. But still I do not differentiate the copula and the copulative verbs from one another.

3.3.3.

The shifts of syntactic function from sentence to sentence part are the most frequent syntactic shifts in Hindī—the formation of clauses is practically unlimited. The formal markers of such shifts are various, of course.

3.3.3.1.

Some formally independent sentences take on the function of a sentence part within another sentence as it were spontaneously, e.g. the subject *baṛo na raghunātha soⁿ* in *loka beda bidita baṛo na raghunātha soⁿ* TVp, the predicate *māgu māgu baru* with the copula *bhaī* in *māgu māgu baru bhaī nabha bānī* TRm, the object *ihāⁿ bhūta nātha bhūpa haiⁿ* in *jānata na mūṛha ihāⁿ bhūta nātha bhūpa haiⁿ* TK, the attribute pura *jāhu* in *bāra bāra pura jāhu nātha kehi kārana āyasu dījai* TG, the complement *nisi milai mūlikā* in *jiyai kuⁿvara nisi milai mūlikā* TG.[99]

96. I conceive copulative verbs in accordance with SMILAUER /32/, pp. 144 seq.

97. Comp. TESNIERE /34/, p. 471, where he writes that the copula *est* in the sentence *la maison est neuve* transfers the adjective *neuve* into the verb *est neuve.*

98. Comp. LIENHARD /21/, pp. 38-39.

3.3.3.2.

The clauses, i.e. the sentences in function of a sentence part, are more usually marked by relatives and correlatives substitutes; these may be, however, occasionally elided.

3.3.3.2.1.

The clauses can occur in all the sentence part functions, e.g. the subject *jehi ke bhavana bimala ciⁿtāmani* with the correlative substitute *so* in *jehi ke bhavana bimala ciⁿtāmani so kata kāⁿca baṭorai* TVp, or *suruci kahyo* with the substitute *soi* in *suruci kahyo soi satya* TVp, the predicate *jo nāma lāja teⁿ nahiⁿ rākhyo raghubīra* with the substitute *so* in *so dhauⁿ ko jo nāma lāja teⁿ nahiⁿ rākhyo raghubīra* TVp, or *jyoⁿ citere citrasāra haiⁿ* in *rahe nara nāri jyoⁿ citere citrasāra haiⁿ* TK, the object *jehi bhāⁿti chāⁿṛi chala dvāra paro guna gāvoⁿ* with the substitute *so* in *so kījai jehi bhāⁿti chāⁿṛi chala dvāra paro guna gāvoⁿ* TVp, or *tumhare biraha bhaī gati jauna* in *tumharē biraha bhaī gati jauna cita daī sunahu* TG, the attribute *jasi bhavatabyatā* with the substitute *taisī* in *jasi bhavatabyatā taisī milāï sahāi* TD, or *jo kali mala samanī* in *tulasi-dāsa kala kīrati gāvahiⁿ jo kali mala samanī* TG, the complement *jo khāta nita* with the substitute *tehi* in *tehi na bāsata jo khāta nita lahasunahū ko bāsu* TD, or *jimi yaha kathā sunāyahu mohī* with the substitute *timi* in

99. It might be possible that it is the simple present tense, i.e. the developing subjunctive of New Hindī, what marks the syntactic shift from sentence to sentence part here; comp. VARMĀ /37/, pp. 299-300. But this presumption requires more detailed investigation

jimi yaha kathā sunāyahu mohī timi jani harihi sunāvahu kabahū^{n} TRm.

3.3.3.2.2.

The clause can have two sentence part functions, e.g. the subject and the object *cahato jo joī joī* with the substitutes *so soī soī* in *cahato jo joī joī lahato so soī soī* TVp, or *jehi ke^{n} jehi para satya sanehū* with the substitutes *so tehi* in *jehi ke^{n} jehi para satya sanehū so tehi milaï* TRm, the subject and the predicate *jinha ke^{n} rahī bhāvanā jaisī* with the substitutes *tinha ... taisī* in *jinha ke^{n} rahī bhāvanā jaisī prabhu mūrati tinha dekhī taisī* TRm, the subject and the complement *jo jo jehi^{n} jehi^{n} rasa magana* with the substitutes *taha^{n} so* in *jo jo jehi^{n} jehi^{n} rasa magana taha^{n} so mudita* TD, the attribute and the complement *prīti pratīti jahā^{n} jā kī* with the substitutes *taha^{n} tā ko* in *prīti pratīti jahā^{n} jā kī taha^{n} tā ko kāja saro* TVp, two complements *kula bivahāra beda bidhi cāhiya jaha^{n} jasa* with the substitutes *taha^{n} tasa* in *kula bivahāra beda bidhi cāhiya jaha^{n} jasa uparohita dou karahi^{n} mudita mana taha^{n} tasa* TJ.

3.3.3.3.

The shift of syntactic function from sentence to sentence part may be marked also by some particles, or by the adjectivization and the adverbization, that is merely morphologically. These cases, however, are very rare in the works of Tulsīdās.

3.3.3.3.1.

The sentence introduced by the particle *ki* "that"[100] takes on the function of object, that is becomes an object clause, e.g. *mero tū^{n} mo so^{n}* in *tai^{n} kahu a^{n}ba ki mero tū^{n} mo so^{n}*

100. To translate the particle *ki* by the conjunction "that" is inaccurate, for this particle functions in the same way as the old *iti*, that is as our colon; comp. BARANNIKOV /3/, pp. 236-237, and ALSDORF /2/, p. 133. The hypotaxis of the meaning is realized paratactically here.

TK. The particle *yo^{n}* and the demonstrative pronominal adjective *asa* ... occur in this position, too, e.g. the object *cahai meru uṛana* in *saciva sayāne mo so^{n} yo^{n} kahata cahai meru uṛana* TG, or *dravahi^{n} jānakī ka^{n}ta taba chūṭai sa^{n}sāra dukha* in *kahahi^{n} bimala mati sa^{n}ta beda purāna bicāri asa dravahi^{n} jānakī ka^{n}ta taba chūṭai sa^{n}sāra dukha* TD. But *yo^{n}* and *asa* used in this way remind of the correlative substitutes.

3.3.3.3.2.

No adjectivized sentence was found in Tulsī's works, though this kind of syntactic shift is not theoretically excluded; compare the attribute clause *jis kī lāṭhī us kī bhai^{n}s* with the particle *vālī* in *pahle to jis kī lāṭhī us kī bhai^{n}s vālī bāt hotī thī*.[101]

3.3.3.3.3.

If the participial predicate is adverbized, then the sentence loses its sentence function and takes on the function of a complement clause, e.g. *bīte avadhi* in *bīte avadhi prathama dina jo raghubīra na aihau* TG, *binu asi mati āye* in *binu asi mati āye milahi^{n} na rāma* TVp.

101. See PORIZKA /25/, p. 101.

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